A DIALECTICAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND MORAL

DEVELOPMENT OF WORKING-CLASS WOMEN WITH

IMPLICATIONS FOR PASTORAL COUNSELING

A Dissertation

Presented to

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In Partial Fulfillment

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Doctor of Philosophy

by

Judith Lynn Orr

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This dissertation, written by

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ABSTRACT

A Dialectical Understanding of the Psychological and Moral

Development of Working-Class Women With

Implications for Pastoral Counseling

Judith Lynn Orr

Much of the pastoral care and counseling of mainline churches is grounded in various structural stage theories of psychological and moral development, which seek to explain the psycho-social-moral commonalities among people. In pursuit of universal explanations, however, the social location of persons and the social construction of personality are ignored, thereby rendering the life experience of many marginalized persons invisible, including women of the working class.

Utilizing the social theory perspective of Karl Marx, this study claims that the particular intersection of employment, fertility, and marriage creates the socioeconomic location of working-class women, which thereby shapes both personality and values. Using this dialectical perspective and the psychological theory of Alfred Adler, a critique of developmental stage theory is offered, affirming both cultural differences and individual uniqueness among working-class women. The results of a qualitative interview and an administration of The Values Scale with 15 working-class women and 5 middle-class women from the Midwestern U.S. are then used to reconstruct psychological and moral development theory of working-class women from a

dialectical perspective. This study concludes that the five
issues "to work, to love, to build community, to learn, and to
rest" are not age-related tasks but are life-span developmental
propensities and abilities. It also concludes that moral
decisions of working-class women are prompted by the need or
desire to achieve, to survive, or to fulfill moral demands, as
often as they are based on the need or desire to sustain
relational connection, which much feminist theory currently
suggests.

Using these social science insights and the theological
perspective of Dorothee Soelle, psychotherapeutic theory as well
as feminist counseling from a middle-class perspective are
critiqued. A typology for pastoral counseling with working-class
women is suggested. A proposal to reconstruct the work of the
church and pastoral theology utilizing the dialectical model of
"overcoming and rest" is offered with the hope and expectation of
greater adequacy and theological integrity for ministry with
working-class women.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

For our silenced people, century after century their
beings consumed in the hard, everyday essential work of
maintaining human life. Their art, which still they
made -- as their other contributions -- anonymous;
refused respect, recognition; lost.[1]

Purpose

In 1972 (I was 25 years old, a former caseworker and new

seminary student) I was introduced to the "Eight Ages of Man" in

Erik Erikson's Identity: Youth and Crisis[2] which purported to

describe how all humans develop through the life span. My

reaction was, "That's not me -- there must be something wrong

with me." Several years later, studies on the psychology of

women suggested some of the same things I was feeling about

Erikson -- that he was not speaking accurately for or about all

women.[3]

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[1]On the dedicatory page of Tillie Olsen, Silences (1965;
reprint, New York: Dell, 1978), 13.

[2]Erik Erikson, Identity: Youth and Crisis (New York: Norton,
1968).

[3]For reasons why Erikson and most other researchers use male
subjects, including the desire to minimize cross-sex problems of
researcher and subject (since most researchers are men), the
desire to follow up on previous studies (most previous subjects
were men), and the lack of test and measures standardized for
women, see S. Prescott, "Why Researchers Don't Study Women: The
Responses of Sixty-Two Researchers," Sex Roles 4, no.6 (Dec.
1978): 899-905.

In 1981 (I was 34, still single, childless, and in debt) I entered graduate school and was introduced to Carol Gilligan's In a Different Voice[4], which claimed that women make moral decisions based on an ethic of relational care rather than the principle of justice, as the moral development theory of Lawrence Kohlberg posited. Some similar feelings began to surface. Gilligan was not describing my decision-making process. I did not always make decisions on the basis of preserving or enhancing interpersonal relationships, and if I sometimes did, I was positive that those relational decisions were not superior to the ones I made based simply on the need to survive. According to Erikson and Gilligan I was not developmentally on schedule.

I was raised in a working-class neighborhood of a predominantly upper middle-class school district in a Mid-Western city. In a family with two working parents that nonetheless knew some unemployment and part-time work, I remember feeling that there was not enough to go around. Economic necessity provided some of the glue by which my family stayed together, and I came to know that relationships were not an unambiguously pure motive for decisions of any kind. When one is not free not to be in relationship, then decisions based on preserving interpersonal relationships are not superior; in fact, they are somehow tainted. There are times when one is quite willing to sacrifice

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[4]Carol Gilligan, In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982). Her research subjects are middle-class and upper-class women.

a relationship for a little justice, for not worrying about bills all the time.

I discovered, however, that mine was not simply a different reality in Erikson's and Gilligan's schema. Mine was a lesser reality, for their stage theories also claimed that the higher or later stages were better, at least more complex and more adequate. When one does not conform to the middle-class standards of these higher stages, one is left feeling underdeveloped, sick, and morally retarded. Such labels derived from elitist theory are damaging, not only to individuals but also to communities and cultures which place faith in such exclusivism. These theories are therefore not only scientifically inaccurate, but also morally problematic.

In the late 1960s counselors Richard Chalfen and Jay Haley developed a project showing different socioeconomic and cultural realities. A group of black adolescent inner city girls wrote a script and acted in a movie which showed arguments, drunkenness, caring, closeness, and vivid human immediacy. A second group, a middle-class white group of adolescents, produced a movie with wide lens shots of sky, scenery, houses, and long shots of objects rather than people. The authors then ask the question: which view of the world is correct?[5]

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[5]Richard Chalfen and Jay Haley, "Reaction to Socio-Documentary Film Research in a Mental Health Clinic," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 41, no. 1 (January 1971): 91-100. Cited in Salvador Minuchin and H. Charles Fishman, Family Therapy Techniques (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 208.

In part I ask this same question when confronted with the multiplicity of theories about human psycho-social and moral development. But further I suggest that there is an inherent political and moral (as well as counseling) project in the very existence of these two world views. Bourgeois ideology focuses on universal ideals and descriptions of reality as a method of controlling the non-bourgeois who live in the midst of life's gritty details and differences.[6] Nor are behavioral science researchers and theologians immune to this single view of reality, this white, middle-class view of reality.

As noted by sociologist Andrew Levison, the poor and the working class are generally invisible to the middle class, male and female alike. The middle class tends to believe this is a classless society with the working class being a diminishing minority. But the working class which is now 40-60 percent of the U.S. population increasingly has limited money options and daily lives with the fear of unemployment.[7] The jobs they do have are the cause of disease, injury, and death to a greater degree than is the case with middle-class jobs. Theirs is a different reality, which reveals the limited power and the great

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[6]Norbert Schiffers, "Soteriology Without Christology: Marginal Notes on Non-Bourgeois Christologies," Christianity and the Bourgeoisie, ed. Johann B. Metz (New York: Seabury, 1979), 93. This is similar to seeing science by males as often too far-sighted, science by females as too near-sighted, as does Sandra Harding, The Science Question in Feminism (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 57.

[7]Andrew Levison, The Working Class Majority (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1974), 25.

vulnerability and pain, but also great strength grounded in struggle for their lives. These differences from the middle class are rooted in social arrangements which generate the ideology of inferiorization. Knowledge gained must correct this inferiorization and must produce social change.[8]

At one point a possible title for this study was "All the Women are Middle Class, All the Working Class are Men, But Some of Us Have Our Dignity."[9] Most research on women is of middle-class women, and most research on the working class uses male subjects, but working-class women have a message of powerlessness, vulnerability, and pain, but also of dignity, that needs to be a part of the tapestry which tells the story of what it means to be human. As noted by Elizabeth Fee, "The idea of femaleness is not a single thing but is articulated within a set of power relations such as class, race, nation. Therefore, there are many feminisms."[10] To say otherwise is to perpetuate the

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[8]Aileen Hall, "Male Ways of Knowing: A Feminist Critique of Sociological Methods," North Central Women's Studies Association, Indiana University, Bloomington, 10 Nov. 1989, suggests three assumptions of feminist research which also could apply to research on class: (1) the interests and perspectives of women are different but not inferior to those of men, (2) the source of these differences lies in social arrangements, and (3) social conditions and ideology create inferiorization which needs correcting.

[9]With obvious indebtedness to Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith, eds., All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave (Old Westbury: Feminist Press, 1982).

[10]Elizabeth Fee, "Critiques of Modern Science: The Relationship of Feminism to Other Radical Epistemologies," Feminist Approaches to Science, ed. Ruth Bleier (New York: Pergamon, 1986), 42-56. Elizabeth V. Spelman, Inessential Woman:

"universal truth" sin of patriarchy and deny the social nature of existence, which according to Sheila Davaney is as common in feminist theology as it is in psychological and moral theory by women.[11] The women's movement, including women developing psychological and moral theory, must be critiqued whenever issues of race and economic justice are ignored, just as the labor movement must be critiqued whenever issues of racism and sexism are ignored.[12]

The recurring theme of working-class dignity is striking. Beth Vanfossen believes that the total existence of the working class is "shaped by economic struggles and striving for personal dignity."[13] Among the interviews of working-class union

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Problems of Exclusion in Feminist Thought (Boston: Beacon, 1988), 3, creates a vivid picture of the way middle-class women's view of reality has predominated in the same way the patriarchal view has: ". . . if I am interested in pebbles as pebbles, then I best not be distracted by the flatness of some or the roundness of others, the beige of one or the rosiness of another. For it is their pebbleness I said I was interested in, not their shape or color. On the other hand, if I am interested in knowing about all the pebbles, how can I disregard the features of each pebble that may distinguish it from others? This leads us to the paradox at the heart of feminism: Any attempt to talk about all women in terms of something we have in common undermines attempts to talk about the differences among us, and vice versa."

[11]Sheila Greeve Davaney, "The Limits of the Appeal to Women's Experience," Shaping New Vision: Gender and Values in American Culture, eds. Clarissa W. Atkinson, Constance H. Buchanan, and Margaret R. Miles (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1987), 31-32.

[12]For a fuller development of this idea of mutual critique, see Alison Jaggar and Paula Rothenberg Struhl, Feminist Frameworks: Alternative Theoretical Accounts of the Relations Between Women and Men (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978).

[13]Beth Vanfossen, The Structure of Social Inequality (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979), 332.

organizers done by Alice and Staughton Lynd came these words: "Talk to the mass production workers who took part in it, and they will tell you that what they wanted more than anything else [in the union organizing drive of the 1930s] was dignity."[14] And as a result of his interviews and experiences among Appalachian coal mining families, Robert Coles comments:

> There is an early stoicism here but also a substantial joy in the modest offerings. There is, too, an immeasurable dignity . . . that of children brought up to bow before luck, good and bad, before circumstances, favorable or quite limiting and not least, before Almighty God, whose presence in many of these lives can be felt rather than known because of words spoken or churches visited.[15]

It is even significant enough to command the title of Fran Leeper Buss' book, _Dignity: Lower Income Women Tell of Their Lives and Struggles_.[16] It is the opinion of Sennett and Cobb that the damage to dignity perpetrated by class in the U.S. is more severe than in Western Europe because solidarity of the working class is so much stronger in Europe. Americans are so much more alone.[17]

This study seeks to make visible the invisible working-class woman and to bring the reality of her life to bear on theories of psychological and moral development, on the enterprises of

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[14]Alice Lynd and Staughton Lynd, _Rank and File: Personal Histories by Working Class Organizers_ (Boston: Beacon, 1973), 1.

[15]Harvard's Robert Coles is quoted in Wendy Ewald, "A Testimony to Love," _Psychology Today_, May 1985: 61.

[16]Fran Leeper Buss, _Dignity: Lower Income Women Tell of Their Lives and Struggles_ (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1985).

[17]Richard Sennett and Jonathan Cobb, _The Hidden Injuries of Class_ (New York: Vintage, 1972), 28.

pastoral counseling and practical theology. From a small empirical base, this study will suggest that women do not develop uniformly either psychologically or morally due to their differing social locations. As has been suggested by Janet Geile, any one of four themes (achievement, survival, relationship, or one's understanding of morality) may guide the life course and decisions of women differently located in the socioeconomic stucture of society.[18]

In addition to contributions of this study to psychological and moral development theory, a further contribution will be the relationship of these issues of psycho-social theory to the conceptualization and practice of pastoral care and counseling with working-class women in the church and to the practical theology of church life. A body of literature exists that points to different purposes and techniques in counseling with persons of other cultures[19] as well as persons of poorer classes in American culture[20] by those in secular counseling fields. A similar literature exists, rich in quality though meager in

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[18]Janet Geile, "Adulthood as Transcendence of Age and Sex," Themes of Love and Work in Adulthood, eds. Neil J. Smelser and Erik Erikson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 159.

[19]Derald W. Sue, Counseling the Culturally Different (New York: Wiley & Sons, 1981). See also Paul Pedersen et al., Counseling Across Cultures, rev. ed. (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1981).

[20]Salvador Minuchin et al., Families of the Slums: An Exploration of Their Structure and Treatment (New York: Basic, 1967).

quantity, in the field of _pastoral_ counseling as well.[21] Missing in pastoral counseling literature, however, is a clear understanding of the counseling needs of working-class women, a void this study seeks to address.

Likewise, the context in which pastoral counseling occurs in the life of the church engaged in ministry demands reconsideration. Suggestions for the ways in which working-class women's lives and needs in their families, their workplaces, and their communities influence how we conceptualize the nature and purpose of the church will be made.

Organization of the Study

The remainder of Chapter 1 outlines the content, purposes, assumptions, and empirical methods of this study. It also discusses the integration of psychological theory (Alfred Adler), social theory (Karl Marx), and theology (Dorothee Soelle) out of which developmental theory and pastoral counseling practice are critiqued, questions asked, and new conclusions reached.

Chapter 2 defines socioeconomic class as it is used in this study and gives a brief history of women and work from the beginning of civilization to the present. It discusses the concept of class mobility and the way it has created ideological mystification and disappointments in people's lives, including those of social science researchers. Some stereotypes of

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[21]David W. Augsburger, _Pastoral Counseling Across Cultures_ (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986) and Charles Kemp, _Pastoral Care with the Poor_ (Nashville: Abingdon, 1972).

working-class women are noted. The interaction of three primary variables -- paid employment, fertility and child rearing, marriage -- which create material reality and class position for working-class women are analyzed. Socioeconomic class as a major factor (along with history, biology, and each person's uniqueness) in shaping the personality and values of working-class women is spelled out. Finally, common problems and strengths of working-class women are noted.

Chapter 3 reviews the literature on psychological development, both classic developmental studies (Sigmund Freud, Erik Erikson, Jean Piaget) and the response of researchers in the psychology of women (Judith Bardwick, Nancy Chodorow, and Dorothy Dinnerstein). A critique of this predominantly middle-class literature from the theoretical perspective of Adler, Marx, and Soelle follows. Finally, a reconstruction of developmental personality theory as dialectical is offered in light of the realities of working-class women's lives gleaned from the interview data.

Chapter 4 reviews the literature on moral development, both classic developmental studies (Jean Piaget, Lawrence Kohlberg) and the response of those interested in making audible the moral voice of women (Carol Gilligan, Nel Noddings). A critique of this predominantly middle-class literature from the theoretical perspective of Adler, Marx, and Soelle follows. Finally, suggestions for revisions of moral development theory as

necessarily dialectical in light of the data of working-class women's values and moral decision making is made.

Chapter 5 reviews the literature on the relationship of socioeconomic class and the counseling enterprise, both the middle-class character of most counseling and stereotypes of working-class mental health and pathology. A critique of the literature follows. A review and critique of predominantly middle-class feminist counseling is then done. Finally, proposals for pastoral counseling of working-class women incorporating the results of prior chapters, interview data, and the theoretical perspectives of Adler, Marx, and Soelle is made.

Chapter 6 concludes this study. The purpose is to place insights from developmental theory and pastoral counseling in the context of the life of the church as moral community. This chapter also summarizes findings, raises questions that remain or have been created by this study, and makes suggestions for further research.

Empirical Source of Data

The empirical component (herein called the Kansas City study) of this larger research effort has sought to make audible the voices of working-class women as they talk about their lives and to discover if and what the differences are in the development, moral decision-making, and counseling expectations between women of the working and middle classes. It is restricted to 20 women, 15 in the working class and 5 in the

middle class. No attempt at random sampling for statistical significance was done.

Hence, a small sample of women has been used as a base for developing a theory about such development and decision-making. By using the "grounded theory" approach, questions may be revised and persons interviewed only until the saturation point -- until no new data is being obtained.[22] Later studies are possible that might verify or alter (rather than develop) this theory.

Grounded theory assumes that the researcher has a perspective and seeks to use a qualitative method to build theory on structural conditions, consequences, norms, deviances, interactions, processes, and patterns.[23] It is inductive rather than deductive theory wherein theory derives from data. An initial task is to find the similarities of a category's properties before moving on to differences among groups.[24] Anecdotal comparison, such as one's own experience, general knowledge, reading, stories of others, can be used as data as long as it was lived experience.[25] Grounded theory therefore selects a theoretical sampling before moving on to statistical sampling. Grounded theory must fit the data (not some prior theory), make sense to persons working in the substantive area,

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[22]Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research (New York: Aldine, 1967), 61.

[23]Glaser and Strauss, 18.

[24]Glaser and Strauss, 52.

[25]Glaser and Strauss, 67.

be general enough for changing times and situations but specific
enough to maintain its sensitivity, and allow users to
understand, analyze, predict, and control consequences from the
theory.[26] It has the advantage of allowing the researcher to
change orientation and redefine hypotheses in light of new
findings.

The interview with each woman lasted two to two and one-half
hours, including open-ended questions and a paper-and-pencil test
called The Values Scale, to determine values held in work and in
general.[27] The interview schedule may be found in the Appendix.
There was no attempt to be a detached observer (objectivism) --
detached from the surrounding culture, detached from my or her
emotions and feelings, detached from the possible applications
and consequences of the study.[28] However, objectivity in the
sense of respecting the integrity of the interviewee and her life
experience was sought. Responsiveness from me was not absent,

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[26]Glaser and Strauss, 238f.

[27]Dorothy D. Nevill and Donald E. Super, The Values Scale:
Theory, Application, and Research (Palo Alto: Consulting
Psychologists Press, 1986).

[28]For the feminist critique of (masculine) objectivity in
science see Fee, 45. Other valuable resources regarding a
shifting epistemology for feminism and science include: Sandra
Harding, The Science Question in Feminism; Carolyn Merchant, The
Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution
(New York: Harper & Row, 1980); and Hilary Rose, "Beyond
Masculinist Realities: A Feminist Epistemology for the Sciences,"
Feminist Approaches to Science, ed. Ruth Bleier (New York:
Pergamon, 1986), 57-76.

but attempts to avoid projecting my perspective, aims, and blindnesses onto the interviewee were consistant.[29]

I identified myself as a graduate student interested in how women make decisions about work and personal life issues. The women were invited to choose the desired location of the interview. Some occurred in their homes, some in my home, some in my office and some at restaurants or parks. Permission to tape record each session was requested, but the women were assured of crnfidentiality. Only I would have access to the tapes, and they could request the tape be shut off at any point. They were told that if anything they said was quoted in the final written document, their true identity would not be given. Sometimes women would experience remorse or pain in re-telling some life events, and I attempted to respond as a concerned friend rather than as a therapist. And sometimes their stories made me aware of the need to continue working on some still unresolved issues in myself around fear of poverty. I was there neither to give or receive counseling nor to encourage social action. I was there to listen and to understand as fully as possible.[30] A not infrequent comment at the end of interviews was that they were interesting, enlightening, or helpful.

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[29]For this distinction between objectivism and objectivity I am indebted to Margaret Miles, "Hermeneutics of Generosity and Suspicion: Pluralism and Theological Education," _Theological Education_ 23 (1987 Suppl.): 40.

[30]With indebtedness to sociologist Ann Oakley, Aileen Hall notes that "personal involvement is the condition under which people come to know each other," which applies also to researchers.

Perhaps this confirms Frances Newman's observation that in the process of answering questions of "who am I?", identity formation is occurring in new ways.[31] Each woman was encouraged to ask any questions she liked at the end.

Women in the sample were American Midwesterners, both working-class and middle-class women from their 20s to their 80s.[32] Their self-identified ethnic backgrounds were German, Irish, Italian, Scottish, English, Hispanic, and Black. Their religious self-identifications were Catholic, Protestant, and agnostic.[33] Most of them worked for pay outside the home,

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[31]Frances Newman, "Working with Distressed Adolescent Females: Countertransference Issues," Women and Therapy 6, nos. 1-2 (1987): 80.

[32]Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes (New York: Russell & Russell, 1949), 76, pointed out long ago that when people were asked in a 1940 Fortune magazine survey an open-ended question about their class designation ("What word do you use to name the class in America you belong to?") 80-90% said "middle class." However, when Centers asked "If you were asked to use one of these four names for your social class, which would you say you belonged in: upper, middle, working, lower?" his results were as follows: upper= 3%, middle= 43%, working= 51%, lower= 1%, don't know= 1%, don't believe in classes= 1%.
I discovered similarly that interview participants given a forced choice were much more willing to self-designate "working class" accurately.
Even in the 1980s, however, Michael Harrington found steel workers who claimed to be middle class (because of their income), "a sociological contradiction and psychological fact in a country where the working class exists but cannot say its own name," in The New American Poverty (New York: Penguin, 1984), 40.

[33]Ethnicity is a stronger focus than class in New England, where there is resistance to recognizing the class-based nature of American society, according the Lillian Rubin, Worlds of Pain: Life in the Working Class Family (New York: Praeger, 1976), 219.

although some understood themselves primarily as homemakers.[34]
They were married, divorced, widowed, and single although a
disproportionate number of the working-class women were
divorced.[35] There were slightly more children on the average
among the working-class women.[36]

While there have been some studies indicating that working-
class women have much more in common with working-class men than
with middle-class women,[37] manipulating the variable of sex (and
therefore choosing a sample of both men and women) has not been
attempted. As noted by Ruth Bleier, there are already numerous
studies which show greater differences _among_ women and _among_ men
than _between_ women and men, in the area of cognitive abilities
for example.[38] Also there are two groups of women which are not

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[34]Alice Kessler-Harris points out the way in which the
sample of working-class women one chooses and the questions one
asks help determine the answers one gets. She concludes that for
these reasons, Lillian Rubin tends to see working-class women as
powerless and victims, and Nancy Seifer tends to see them as
activists, taking charge of their lives, in "Review of _Worlds of_
Pain: Life in the Working Class Family by Lillian Rubin and
Nobody Speaks for Me! Self-Portraits of American Working Class
Women by Nancy Seifer," _Signs_ 4, no. 2 (1978): 372-74.

[35]In the Kansas City study, of the 15 working-class women
there were 4 married, 7 divorced, 3 single, and 1 widowed. Of
the 5 middle-class women there were 4 married and 1 divorced.

[36]The working-class women averaged 2.4 children and the
middle-class women averaged 1.8 children.

[37]Iradj Siassi, "Psychotherapy With Women and Men of Lower
Classes," _Women in Therapy_, eds. Violet Franks and Vasanti Burtle
(New York: Brunner, Mazel, 1974).

[38]Ruth Bleier, _Feminist Approaches to Science_ (New York:
Pergamon, 1986), 12.

included in this study: upper-class and lower-class women.[39]
This is primarily for purposes of research managability coupled
with the recognition that the working and middle classes
constitute about 80 percent of the U.S. population and that these
are therefore the persons most often seen at pastoral counseling
centers.[40]

The women interviewed were contacted and selected by "the
snowball method." Each one was asked for the names of several
other women who might be willing to be interviewed, and the one
least well known to her was selected. The conceptualization of
the study and the labor of the research and interviews (which
took place in the summer of 1987) were done by a single person, a
woman. There was no division of labor.[41]

In conclusion, this study will argue that socioeconomic
location shapes personality, values, and moral decision-making
due to particular resources, methods of coping, and the relative
sense of powerlessness among working-class women. In addition,
it will show that these distinctions can and should affect
counselor expectations, diagnosis, and therapeutic process in the

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[39]For a look at the lives of upper-class women see Susan A.
Ostrander, "Upper Class Women: The Feminine Side of Privilege,"
Qualitative Sociology 3, no. 1 (1980): 23-44.

[40]That the working and middle classes constitute nearly 80%
of the American population is suggested by Kurt B. Mayer, "The
Changing Shape of the American Class Structure," Social Research
30 (1963): 458-68.

[41]See Sandra Harding, The Science Question in Feminism, 70,
on the fragmentation of intellectual and manual labor and the
consequent risk of moral irresponsibility in traditional (male-
dominated and controlled) science.

pastoral counseling of women and that the realities of working-class life must reshape the theology and practice of what it means to be the church if it is to fulfill its call to be a moral community.

Theoretical Grounding

The theoretical framework for this study which will provide the basis for critique of current developmental theory and pastoral counseling practice as well as the basis for reconstruction of theory and practice in the life of the church will be the psychological theory of Alfred Adler, the social theory of Karl Marx, and the theology of Dorothee Soelle.

Psychological Theory: Alfred Adler

While a number of feminists are currently informed by Object Relations theory, a form of neo-Freudian theory, I find a number of problems with this psychological stance, chief of which is identified by one of its proponents. Nancy Hartsock issues the disclaimer that Object Relations theory "contains the danger of making invisible the experience of lesbians and women of color."[42] Any theory about women which does not encompass the experience of major segments of the female working-class population is of limited usefulness.

Other limitations of Freudian and neo-Freudian theory with the working class include its emphasis on parts and roles of personality rather than wholistic interests and purpose of

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[42]Nancy C.M. Hartsock, Money, Sex, and Power: Toward a Feminist Historical Materialism (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1985), 233.

personality, its understanding of good as removing evil and of peace as resolving conflict, as well as its belief in psychological and moral scarcity grounded in the search for pleasure and avoidance of pain.[43] Rather, I find my psychological grounding in Alfred Adler, who very early made a radical departure from Freud in his understanding of the human psyche, who appreciated the interface of individual psychological unity, social complexity, and power as the core issue in human life.[44]

In the family this takes the form of the powerlessness of the weak and dependent child who needs to find a secure place among adults. In society it takes the form of racial, ethnic, gender, and class groups rendered powerless and often accepting powerlessness in a world of economic and social rule by the few. Adler makes explicit the dialectic shaping of the person through social forces and individual creativity.[45]

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[43]This critique of Freud is helpfully offered by Helen Merrell Lynd, On Shame and the Search for Identity (1958; reprint, New York: Wiley & Sons, 1965), 98-99.

[44]This summary presentation is developed from works by Adler (see bibliography), as well as two volumes of his collected works, one by Heinz Ansbacher and Rowena Ansbacher, eds., The Individual Psychology of Alfred Adler: A Systematic Presentation of Selections From His Writings (New York: Basic, 1956) and the other by Kurt Adler and Donica Deutsch, Essays in Individual Psychology (New York: Grove, 1959).

[45]Adler's sensitivity to issues of social power can perhaps be at least partially explained by some biographical data. He was born (1870) in a sub-section of Vienna, the son of a middle-class grain merchant, a non-practicing Jew in a predominantly Gentile neighborhood. He went through elementary school and Gymnasium without distinction, a poor to average student. While at the University of Vienna Medical School (@ 1895) he was

Adler assumed an organismic unity of the individual which opposed the idea of a mind-body split or of an intra-psychic split (such as id, ego, superego). He stressed rather the importance of the individual's subjective, phenomenal world -- her/his opinion of both self and environment.[46] The individual (i.e., that which cannot be further divided) displays a unitary dynamic of striving for completion or a sense of personal power, where life is never merely "being" but is always "becoming," always in process. The individual is essentially teleological in its striving for the goal of completion, of continual overcoming of inferiority, the best content of which is perfected belonging and "social interest."[47] Where Freud saw causality as the primary operative principle in the human personality, Adler saw the principle of finality as primary. One's experience is not so important as the way one sees that experience in light of one's life goal.[48] The uniqueness of the individual is in the "style

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politically in the minority, as he was not a nationalist but rather an internationalist. He was attracted to Marxist social theory, though not Marxist economic theory. In 1900 he established his first office in a lower middle-class Jewish neighborhood near the Prater Amusement Park. Adler liked the "common man."

[46]While Freud's might be called an objective psychology (the psyche as seen from outside the individual), Adler's might termed a subjective psychology (the psyche as seen from within and by the individual).

[47]In the German Adler's original word was gemeinschaftgefuhl, often translated as "social feeling" or "social interest."

[48]Alfred Adler, Social Interest: A Challenge to Mankind, tr. John Linton and Richard Vaughan (New York: Capricorn Books, 1964), 26.

of life" chosen, since we are at least partly self-determining and creative.[49] Individuals are neither good nor evil by nature according to Adler, but they are what they make of their lives within a particular family, neighborhood, nation, era of history.

Adler appreciated the uniqueness of the individual, but he understood humans to be social and relational by nature, and thus emphasized the _social_ orientation of persons and encouraged both individual and social development. All important life problems, including certain drive satisfactions, become social problems. All values become social values. Private solutions to problems with no eye to "the common sense" are failures in learning. The meaning of life for Adler is the experience of "social feeling" or fellowship, and the courage for it. Maturity, completion, or perfection is the experience of being an individual as part of the whole.[50]

As Adler saw it, the human condition was the experience of inferiority, in light of the motivating and unitary human goal of perfection or completion. This "inferiority feeling," more often called feeling of incompletion or insecurity by Adler, found its compensation in the striving for completion or perfection.[51] While present in all human infants to some degree, it is aggravated in those suffering organ inferiority, pampering, or

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[49]Alfred Adler, _The Science of Living_ (Garden City: Garden City Publishing, 1929), 98-116.

[50]Alfred Adler, _Understanding Human Nature_, tr. Walter Beran Wolfe (Garden City: Garden City Publishing, 1927), 26-32.

[51]Adler, _Social Interest_, 96-116.

neglect.[52] Inferiority/insecurity itself is not abnormal but is, in fact, the cause of all human improvement. The healthy person uses it for productivity, however, to overcome obstacles and maintain oneself in life. It is a striving for a structure to the entire personality.

Those with more intense feelings of inferiority or insecurity strive to compensate in one of three ways: to _rule_ over others (to strive for superiority), to manipulate in order to _get_ from others, and to _isolate_ oneself from the problems of living and growing. These are examples of what Adler calls "final fictions" or distorted goals.[53] They are goals which are fictional in the sense that they do not work toward social interest, but they are created by the individual and can be changed by the individual. Hence, the creative self is the first cause of personality. People create their personalities from their _attitudes about_ their heredity and experience, which creates a certain life-style, a structured pattern of behaving and understanding the world, which is in place by the age of 4 or 5 to maintain minimal self-esteem. The most constructive

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[52]Karen Horney has elaborated other environmental influences on childhood insecurity in her book _Our Inner Conflicts_ (New York: Norton, 1945), to which Adler alluded in various works, but did not list systematically: direct or indirect domination, indifference, erratic behavior, lack of respect for the child's individual needs, lack of real guidance, disparaging attitudes, too much admiration or the absence of it, lack of reliable warmth, having to take sides in parental disagreements, too much or too little responsibility, overprotection, isolation from other children, injustice, discrimination, unkept promises, hostile atmosphere.

[53]Ansbacher and Ansbacher, 76-100.

strivings are for solutions to love, work, and social interest that are good and useful to the whole.

Social interest is both inborn and capable of nurture and development.[54] It is a good not yet fully existant in present cultural and national forms, but is a form of community thought to be everlasting in its wholeness. To effect this requires courage, self-confidence, social adjustment, and cooperation. The adjustment made by the individual is not to social reality as it is, but to the goal of social interest, or that yet-to-be-created community of wholeness. The sense of personal worth and power that then emerges is power with and for others rather than power over and against others, power manipulated from others, or power abdicated entirely. For Adler the mentally healthy human relationship is also the morally desirable one, and only that which serves the community can be called moral or ethical. What is called good is so with regard to its usefulness for all.

In addressing the particular issue of women, Adler observed that they often create a lifestyle that is manipulative or that abdicates their personal power, but they may also seek to gain superiority by opting to rule and dominate in family and societal relationships, which Adler called the masculine protest, or the exaggeration by women of male qualities when feeling inferior.[55]

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[54]Alfred Adler, _Cooperation Between the Sexes: Writings on Women and Men, Love and Marriage, and Sexuality_, eds. Heinz L. Ansbacher and Rowena R. Ansbacher (New York: Norton, 1978), 168-69.

[55]Alfred Adler, _The Practice and Theory of Individual Psychology_, trans. P. Radin (1925; reprint, London: Degan Paul,

Women may also seek to gain superiority over others through moral superiority, being especially good and self-sacrificing. Yet, none of these are purely individual problems, but are the result of an oppressive hierarchical societal structure.[56] In 1927 he remarked, "all our institutions, our traditional attitudes, our laws, morals, and customs give evidence of the fact that they are determined and maintained by privileged males for the purpose of male domination."[57] Thus, Adler saw women suffering a double dose of inferiority -- as any child would have felt inferior in an adult world, but also the felt inferiority within a system designating her to be so because of her femaleness. His evaluation of this situation is candid and uncompromising: "A subordination of one individual to another in a sexual relationship is just as unbearable as in the life of nations."[58]

Adler's understanding of the human psyche must always be understood in the context of his appreciation for social reality. He was a socialist,[59] for which Freud later tried to discredit him, though he was an anti-Bolshevist who abhorred the use of

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Trench, & Trubner, 1946), 109.

[56]A number of feminists have noted the relatively greater importance of social context rather than individual history as the best predictor of behavior, since the now classic article by Naomi Weisstein, "Psychology Constructs the Female," Women in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness, eds. Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran (New York: Basic, 1971), 216.

[57]Adler, Understanding Human Nature, 123.

[58]Adler, Understanding Human Nature, 145.

[59]Ansbacher and Ansbacher, 446.

power by force. Yet, during World War I Adler came to see war less as a political and social problem, but more as a disaster for the individual. He became interested in the reform of educational systems, and advocated the mutual responsibility of parent-student-teacher in problem-solving. Rules were not abandoned but were developed by the students, and rules were less necessary when the goal of social interest was clear. A child with a problem became the leader in concert with the teacher, psychiatrist, and parent, in searching out a solution.[60] Responsibility was heightened, while never losing sight of the non-private nature of all such solutions. Everything signifying failure is really a failure in the development of community, a relational failure. Solutions arose from activating "social interest" rather than focusing on mistakes, problems, or bad impulses.

Adler has made a number of contributions in his psychological system, which are especially attractive to those concerned with gender and class inequalities. His lack of interest in jargon has helped his system to be usable by a number of social classes. He recognized the social determinants of behavior and actively pursued social justice, including the abolition of sex roles, while supporting the importance of individual interdependence. For Adler, the therapist or counselor is not a superior with answers, but a co-worker toward a solution. His is action-oriented, encouraging, direct, short-

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[60]Adler, The Science of Living, 173-198.

term, and wholistic therapy. The goals of therapy involve
increased client participation in community, especially social
change toward the goal of social interest.

Social Theory: Karl Marx

Adler's interest in the individual-in-society is more
heuristic for psychological insights into working-class women
than many Freudian, neo-Freudian, or Jungian theories. On the
other hand, Adler's theory lacks rigorous analysis of social
conflict. He does not distinguish between social cooperation and
social conformity.[61] Because this study focuses on the socio-
genic nature of human problems, it is important to clarify the
social theory which grounds this study. According to Beverly
Harrison, when operating from a feminist-liberation perspective
"social theory formulations are to be judged by how well they
clarify sources of oppression."[62] It is believed that the social
theory of Karl Marx helps accomplish that task.

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[61]Joseph L. DeVitis, "Freud, Adler, and Women: Powers of the
Weak and the Strong," Women, Culture and Morality: Selected
Essays, ed. Joseph L. DeVitis (New York: Peter Lang, 1987), 141.
Russell Jacoby's belief that Adler displays a "monotonous
discovery of common sense" (p.11) and encourages conformity to
existing social reality, and that Freud is a true radical (p.30)
and provides better resources for dealing with conflictual
reality is simplistic and misses the mark. He fails to
understand social interest as a yet-to-be-created reality and
fails to take account of the individualistic nature of Freud's
theory. See Russell Jacoby, Social Amnesia: A Critique of
Conformist Psychology from Adler to Laing (Boston: Beacon, 1975).

[62]Beverly Harrison, "The Role of Social Theory in Religious
Social Ethics," Making the Connections: Essays in Feminist Social
Ethics, ed. Carol S. Robb (Boston: Beacon, 1985), 282.

Marx never clarified the being of humans as subjects (and here Adler's Individual Psychology will be of assistance), except to say that humans have the capacity for self-creation and can make history.[63] Rather Marx focused on the relations between humans especially under the socio-historical conditions of capitalism. His is a materialist theory as opposed to an idealist social theory.[64] For Marx the class structure under capitalism is the outgrowth of concrete modes of economic production, wherein the bourgeois class owns the means of production and controls the labor process, the worker, and the distribution of rewards. The proletariat or working class, on the other hand, are dispossessed of the means of production, sell their labor for wages (which are less than the sale value of the commodities produced, creating surplus value), and have no power to determine what is produced, how it is produced, or the distribution of rewards and resources. These actual power relations are relations of domination and exploitation.[65] They

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[63]Karl Marx, "Humanitarianism and Liberalism of a Young Hegelian," Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society, trans. and eds. Lloyd D. Easton and Kurt H. Guddat (Garden City: Doubleday, 1967), 385.

[64]The materialist-idealist distinction is elaborated in Albert Szymanski, Class Structure: A Critical Perspective (New York: Praeger, 1983), 3f.

[65]Dale Johnson, "Toward a Historical and Dialectical Social Science," Class and Social Development: Theoretical Reflections on Intermediate Classes, ed. Dale Johnson (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1982), 31, suggests that "domination" and "oppression" refer to social relations or authority relations, and that "exploitation" refers to economic relations or the cooptation of the surplus value created by laborers.

create the idea of class -- the idea of class is not later

embodied in these relations, as idealist theory would suggest.

The social theory of Marx is also a dialectical or conflict

theory as opposed to functionalist social theory as exemplified

in the work of Talcott Parsons and Robert Merton.[66]

Functionalist social theory is essentially conservative, and

understands stratification as important for the necessary

division of labor to accomplish society's work. Conflict social

theory, on the other hand, is more radical and revolutionary, and

understands stratification as a reflection of inequalities in the

ownership of the means of production and in the power resulting

therefrom. These distinctions may be summarized as follows:[67]

The functional view	The conflict view
1. Stratification is universal, necessary, and inevitable	1. Stratification may be universal without being necessary or inevitable
2. Social organization shapes the stratification system	2. The stratification system shapes social organization
3. Stratification arises from the societal need for integration, coordination, cohesion	3. Stratification arises from group conquest, competition, and conflict
4. Stratification facilitates	4. Stratification impedes the

[66]The conflict-functionalist distinction is elaborated in Vanfossen, 50. Marx is also considered a conflict theorist by Randall Collins, though Collins understands the other significant sociological traditions to be those of Emile Durkheim and George Herbert Mead, in Three Sociological Traditions (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

[67]Jack Roach, Llewellyn Gross, and Orville Gursslin, Social Stratification in the United States (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 55.

the optimal functioning of society and the individual	optimal functioning of society and the individual
5. Stratification is an expression of commonly shared social values	5. Stratification is an expression of the values of powerful groups
6. Power is usually legitimately distributed in society	6. Power is usually illegitimately distributed in society
7. Tasks and rewards are equitably allocated	7. Tasks and rewards are inequitably allocated
8. The economic dimension is subordinate to other dimensions of society	8. The economic dimension is paramount in society
9. Stratification systems generally change through evolutionary processes	9. Stratification systems often change through revolutionary processes

In addition to being a materialist theory and a conflict theory, Marx's social theory has been understood as interpretive (humanistic, qualitative) rather than positivistic (naturalistic, scientific, quantitative),[68] and as holistic (society as a reality _sui generis_) rather than elementaristic (society as a strategy of individuals or groups looking for variety of relations.)[69] In the main, however, Marx's theory is most helpfully understood as a materialist conflict theory, or theory of dialectical materialism.[70]

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[68]Margaret M. Paloma, Contemporary Sociological Theory (New York: Macmillan, 1979), 6f.

[69]Don Martindale, "The Theory of Stratification," Issues in Social Inequality, eds. Gerald W. Thielbar and Saul D. Feldman (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972), 209-226.

[70]An interesting test of the viability of functionalist and conflict theories in children is reported by Robert L. Leahy, "Development of the Conception of Economic Inequality:

The originality in Marx's theory was not his vision of a socialist society, which he did believe could correct the unequal power relationships rooted in the structure of economic production in capitalism. Many communitarian groups before him had such visions, according to Thomas Ogletree.[71] Nor was Marx merely a theoretician describing society. Rather he insisted on the unity of theory and action. His analysis of the material relations of production generated his theory of social development, consummating in the overthrow of class distinctions and oppression. He hoped for an end to the oppression of the underclass.[72] Marx wrote, "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it!"[73]

Explanations, Justifications, and Concepts of Social Mobility and Change," Developmental Psychology 19 (Jan. 1983): 111-25. He studied 720 children ages 6, 11, 14, 17. The group included both black and white children, who were children of the upper, middle, working, and lower classes. The presumed cognitive disadvantage of lower classes or black children was not found to apply to the development of the concept of economic inequality. (cf. the developmental theory of Jean Piaget and Lawrence Kohlberg). There was wide consensus among races and classes in explaining and justifying social mobility and change -- that changes are rooted in the individual. This shared ideology justifying an unequal distribution of goods is a confirmation of functionalist theory. But conflict theory assumes that race and class differences in interpretation should be manifest, as was found to be the case in explaining poverty, sources of wealth, the possibility of change.

[71]Thomas W. Ogletree, ed., Openings for Marxist Christian Dialogue (Nashville: Abingdon, 1968), 14.

[72]The term "underclass" is not Marx's but was introduced by Ken Auletta, The Underclass (New York: Random House, 1982).

[73]Karl Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach," Marx and Engels: Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy, tr. Lewis S. Feuer (Garden

Marx was both influenced by and leveled critique against the
thought of G.F.W. Hegel, Ludwig Feuerbach, and Moses Hess before
him.[74] Hegel understood humanity as in conflict with itself,
both within the individual and between individuals.[75]
Individuals create moral laws and societies, but come to
externalize, objectify, and conflict with them. Human
estrangement from its own moral laws, societies, and other
creations limits human freedom. The emerging master-slave
relationships, however, contain within them the seeds of
transformation, for the master is as dependent on the slave as is
the slave on the master. When each comes to recognize this,
freedom emerges from slavery. History passes from one phase to
its opposite -- the thesis and antithesis create a new synthesis.
This is the pattern of the mind/spirit and of the universe. It
is an optimistic view of history, perhaps because it is grounded
in idea, rather than in material reality. Hegel tried to
understand history from the viewpoint of Absolute Mind or Spirit
(God). God as pure idea alienates Godself in history to grasp

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City: Doubleday, 1959), 245.

[74]These influences are noted by Rosemary Radford Ruether,
The Radical Kingdom: The Western Experience of Messianic Hope
(New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 95-96, as well as Alasdair
MacIntyre, Marxism and Christianity (1968; reprint, Notre Dame:
Notre Dame Press, 1984).

[75]Hegelian opposites, which are part of and necessary to the
other, are unlike Platonic opposites, which are mutually
exclusive categories, according to Helen Lynd, 235.

Godself again in the act of consciousness. The world is God's objectification and God's means of self-realization.[76]

Feuerbach, a Hegelian early in his career, later claimed that Hegel was wrong in suggesting that idea generates material reality. Rather, experienced human reality generates thought, including the idea of God. Humans are also social, and freedom is most importantly social rather than individual. The moral stances individuals hold are generally a consequence of their positions within the social system. To Feuerbach, religion is human self-alienation, the projecting of instrinsically good human selfhood onto a divine subject, and worshiping this alienated projection. Through exalting the divine, humans are impoverished. The human task is to re-appropriate this goodness of self, only now as a communal self which would produce a religion of humanity.[77]

From Moses Hess, Marx learned about early socialist communities or utopias. And under Hess's influence Marx came to believe that humans not only create God, but are workers and also create money, another manifestation of alienation.[78]

Marx agreed with Feuerbach that humans create both God and religion, but he rejected the latter's "religion of humanity" saying that all religion is mystification. While granting that

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[76]Summary of Hegel's views found in MacIntyre, 7-28.

[77]Ludwig Feuerbach, The Essence of Christianity, trans. George Eliot (New York: Harper, Torchbooks, 1957), 29-30, 46ff.

[78]Ruether, The Radical Kingdom, 96.

religion stems from and expresses real distress and offers a protest to the distress, generally Marx believed that religion obscures the historical, material situation and impedes concrete corrective social action.[79]

Marx also went beyond both Hegel and Feuerbach in his understanding of political forms as obfuscations of material reality. He saw the way in which states grant equal political rights and still "ignore the inequalities of birth, occupation, and property which render men [sic] in practice unequal."[80] Political freedom is an asset, but true freedom of social human beings comes with the elimination of the relationship to property and unequal relations of power.[81]

While Marx's later work elaborated his theory of historical materialism and categories of socioeconomic analysis, his earlier work focuses on the theme of human nature and its alienation. For Marx the basic form of alienation was the projection of our own creativity onto objects of labor or commodities. Humanity as humanity is a maker and creator. Work makes humans human.[82] God

[79]Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, On Religion (1947; reprint, New York: Schocken Books, 1967), 42. Also Karl Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach," Marx and Engels: Basic Writings, iv-vii.

[80]MacIntyre, 41.

[81]Strongly influenced by Marx's social theory, ethicist Beverly Harrison notes that "Ethics has tended to evaluate systems as moral if bourgeois political rights are present rather than economic performance in relation to human well-being," in Beverly W. Harrison, "The Role of Social Theory in Religious Social Ethics," 72.

[82]Karl Marx, Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844, ed. Dirk Struik (New York: International Publishers, 1964), 113,

is merely the human projection of intrinsically self-rewarding

creativity, and money is its empirical counterpart. Marx

asserted that:

> the production of life, both of one's own by labour and
> of fresh life by procreation, appears at once as a
> double relationship, on the one hand as natural, on the
> other hand as a social relationship. By social is
> meant the cooperation of several individuals, no matter
> under what conditions, in what manner or to what end.[83]

Workers engaged in joint enterprises have common interests, and

these ideally unify mind and action in cooperative effort.

Community is formed in expressions of individuality through

products for use which connect to each other and to nature.

Hence, responsibility to individuality-in-community becomes a

source of power.[84] The downfall of humanity is in objectifying

the creative capacity into commodities, which then enslave

humanity to their rule. Work has become a means to an end and

therefore alienating. Thus are humans alienated from their own

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[83]T. B. Bottomore and M. Rubel, _Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy_ (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956), 62. Interestingly in this quote Marx does not separate production and reproduction as specializations of men and of women respectively. Capitalist patriarchal culture does, however, and the feminist appropriation of Marxism takes this into account in its analysis of male control over reproduction (the availability of birth control and abortion) in addition to male control over the economic modes of production, property, and inheritance. See Jane Flax, "Do Feminists Need Marxism?" _Building Feminist Theory: Essays From Quest_, eds. Charlotte Bunch et al. (New York: Longman, 1981), 174-186.

[84]This summary of Marx on "work" by Hartsock, _Money, Sex, and Power_, 122, 124, 137.

true capacities and desire for freedom. This is our false consciousness.

Marx's critique of capitalism thus revolves around the progressive enrichment of commodities and the progressive impoverishment of human life. This includes both subjective inner impoverishment as well as outer physical impoverishment, though the latter has its roots in the former. As Erich Fromm puts it in his interpretation of Marx, "The worker becomes poorer the more wealth he produces. . . . The worker becomes an ever cheaper commodity the more goods he creates. The devaluation of the human world increases in direct relationship to the increase in value of the world of things."[85] And one cannot merely raise wages to alleviate outer physical impoverishment, expecting alienation of human life to cease. The relations of labor must be re-structured.[86]

The capitalist class produces nothing, but owns the worker, the commodities, and the profits from the sale of commodities. The worker who owns only her/his own labor participates in a division of labor which creates alienation from the product (through participating in merely a fraction of its creation), from oneself and one's creativity (through rote, routine work), from one's co-workers (through competition and/or compartmentalization of work), and from one's superiors (through

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[85]Erich Fromm, <u>Marx's Concept of Man</u> (New York: Ungar, 1961), 95.

[86]Ruether, <u>The Radical Kingdom</u>, 96-98.

the exploitation of being told what to do when, of being controlled through "checking" and supervision, of being lied to and thus learning to disbelieve as a matter of course). As noted by Barbara Garson, division of labor within capitalism is not due to bigness or technology, but is the result of exploitation, of management retaining ownership and decision-making control.[87]

The solution to the capitalist crisis is not merely communal or public ownership of property. According to Marx there is servitude in any property relationship. The historical work of capitalism from Marx's perspective, was to produce the technology necessary to free humanity to work for creative self-expression, connecting with the work of others and with nature, and eliminating the need to work as a means to an end.[88] Morality, which for Marx is a changing system of values rather than a timeless law, would become appropriate to the newfound freedom and restructuring of power. Of course, capitalism has produced the technology, but has failed to use it to structure a new social order, which would manifest equality of power relations and decision-making.

Theology: Dorothee Soelle

As a psychologist Adler speaks as a scientist and therefore is not concerned to speak of God. Yet, in a personal letter he admits that for him God is not the first cause of the world so

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[87]Barbara Garson, _All the Livelong Day: The Meaning and Demeaning of Routine Work_ (New York: Doubleday, 1975), 211, 213-14.

[88]Ruether, _The Radical Kingdom_, 99-104.

much as the goal of perfection, the grace-giving goal of overcoming, the pure idea of "social interest" toward which we most adaptively move.[89] Hence, his understanding of God is consistant with his belief that liberation from unequal distributions of power is more impelled by a vision of where we might be, than by a view of where we have been and how we got to this place.

Likewise, Karl Marx spoke about God, but mostly insofar as religion and the god of which it speaks, impeded human dignity and liberation. His was a task of destroying idols rather than identifying or constructing an idea of God. Yet, as Alfred North Whitehead has suggested, Christianity may now be "a religion in search of a social theory, one that will enable it to call man [sic] to enter into the redemptive possibilities that are present in the historical process."[90] Beverly Harrison also believes that a "liaison between Christian theory and neo-Marxian political economy can deliver Christians from . . . an anti-materialist, world-denying spirituality . . . [and] an adequate theological moral vision can deliver Marxists from . . . rationalistic scientism and cultural insensitivity."[91] It is with the awareness of these linkages that we now turn to the

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[89]Ansbacher and Ansbacher, 460-61.

[90]Whitehead as quoted in Ogletree, 38.

[91]Beverly W. Harrison, "The Role of Social Theory in Religious Social Ethics," 75.

theological grounding for this study found in the work of
Dorothee Soelle.

For over twenty years Dorothee Soelle has engaged in
theological dialogue from the perspective of a post-World War II
German Marxist woman, teaching each year in both German and
American seminaries. As noted by both Carter Heyward and Mary
Pellauer, Soelle has not fully integrated issues of sexism in her
theology, but is pervasively class and race conscious.[92] In the
aftermath of the second World War and as a dialogue partner in
the Death of God discussion in the 1960s she has been concerned
with the importance of a-theism, with unseating a god of power
who created an unchanging world and a natural order governed by
eternal laws, for a God of relation who is in solidarity with the
oppressed for the pursuit of justice, a God willing to suffer, to
engage in conflict, and to give up omnipotence for love.[93]

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[92]Carter Heyward, The Redemption of God: The Theology of
Mutual Relation (Lanham: University Press of America, 1982), 214.
See also Mary Pellauer, "Review of To Work and To Love by
Dorothee Soelle," Christianity and Crisis, 26 Aug. 1985: 334.

[93]Soelle suggests that the mystical tradition uses language
about God's activity that leaves space for human response,
language such as "evoke, empower, liberate, support, build,
awaken, listen, nourish, summon, suffer, experience, participate,
rejoice, stand within." Mystical traditions in any religion are
usually traditions of ordinary people who resist the tradition of
the ruling class and oppressive religion, which renders persons
passive with language for God's activity such as "direct,
control, send, use, proclaim, judge, shape, confront, confirm,
destroy, offer, rule." See Dorothee Soelle, "Mysticism,
Liberation, and the Names of God: A Feminist Reflection," trans.
Tory Rhodin, Christianity and Crisis 41 (June 22, 1981): 179-85.
See also Dorothee Soelle, Beyond Mere Obedience, trans. Lawrence
W. Denef (New York: Pilgrim, 1982) for further discussion of
authoritarian/hierarchical as well as mystical theological
traditions.

At the same time, she has made an important contribution to Christological studies with her earliest book, <u>Christ the Representative</u>,[94] in which she suggests that Christ represents but does not replace humanity before God and God before humanity. Jesus cannot finally suffer for us and earn our redemption. Jesus sought to change the status quo of unequal power and was destroyed doing so. He revealed to us our prejudice, fear, arrogance, and hatred for life, our obedience to authority and death, and our limited imagination, intelligence, and effort in pursuit of the kin-dom. The spirit which he brought into the world reveals our unity with all and empowers our work in God's world for the future.[95]

Soelle, however, does not claim to do a theology from above, beginning with doctrines. Rather, she seeks to begin with experience, with human experience of the world and of God, which aims not at faith in search of understanding but faith in search of action. Hers is a political theology.[96] I find in Soelle three primary themes which characterize the historical project of theology, both the need of humans, especially poor and working-class women, and the work of God. This project is the liberation

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[94]Dorothee Soelle, <u>Christ the Representative: An Essay in Theology After the 'Death of God'</u>, trans. David Lewis (1965; reprint, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967).

[95]Dorothee Soelle's credo in poetic form may be found in <u>Revolutionary Patience</u>, trans. Rita Kimber and Robert Kimber (1969; reprint, Maryknoll: Orbis, 1977), 22-23.

[96]See Dorothee Soelle, <u>Political Theology</u>, trans. and intro. John Shelley (1971; reprint, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 3.

from a past and present embeddedness in structural sin to a future called the Kingdom of God (in Soelle's terms) or the Kindom of God, as suggested by Elizabeth McAlister of the Plowshares Eight.[97] These three themes are the liberation from domination to dignity, liberation from survival to life, and liberation from isolation to community.[98]

As suggested by both Marx and Soelle, the working class is oppressed, both dominated and exploited, by the bourgeoisie. It is an oppression which is rooted in the conditions of economic production and its attendant activity of reproduction, but pervades all cultural life. It is a situation of powerlessness (the expectancy that one's behavior cannot determine the outcomes or reinforcements s/he seeks) and meaninglessness (lack of clarity about the standards for beliefs or decision-making) for the working class. Both powerlessness and meaninglessness are rooted in the lie that an individual can get ahead if s/he just works hard enough, that one can reap the rewards of the system with a little effort. The truth is that except in rare cases, one remains at the socioeconomic level of one's parents because the system is structured for domination of one group by another

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[97]William O'Brien, "Interview with Philip Berrigan and Elizabeth McAlister," The Other Side, May-June 1989: 14.

[98]These processes are not unlike those suggested by critical theory, of enlightenment, empowerment, and emancipation. These processes demand a theory of false consciousness, a theory of crisis, a theory of education, and a theory of transformative actions, according to Brian Fay, Critical Social Science: Liberation and Its Limits (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 7, 31-32.

and is so powerful as to repeat itself. Poverty itself does not humiliate, but is much more inclined to humiliate if it is involuntary and if not everyone is poor.[99]

Liberation from domination initially requires education or conscientization, sometimes called telling the truth about power relations. God's prophets had the task of telling the truth to power, and of telling God's people the consequences of following false idols. God stands on the side of truth, that creation is not to be dominated and exploited or to be parceled out between possessors and possessed, and God stands with the oppressed.[100] The pursuit of justice which restores the rightful dignity of all God's children must be based on truth.

Bourgeois culture numbs minds and hearts into believing that having more will satisfy and that violence is necessary to protect one's money, position of privilege, and need for order (fear of chaos, disorder, rebellion). At one point Soelle elaborates this numbing process when she calls sin the absence of warmth, love, caring, and trust, in other words, "freezing over."[101] Conscientization means thawing or dissolving numbness so that pain can be experienced and utilized for the action of liberation. Conscientization means discovering one's dignity,

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[99]Dorothee Soelle, Suffering, trans. Everett R. Kalin (1973; reprint, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), 45.

[100]Dorothee Soelle and Fulbert Steffensky, Not Just Yes and Amen: Christians With a Cause (1983; reprint, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 29.

[101]Dorothee Soelle, "Sin is When Life Freezes," Christian Century, 12 May 1982: 558.

which means the capacity for going beyond what exists.[102]
Conscientization is the process of understanding rebellion
against poverty and domination not as sin but as the beginning of
liberation and salvation.

The scope of alienation and evil in human life is, in fact,
the impetus for Soelle's Christology. Carter Heyward summarizes
Soelle's points of Christology in a seven-fold way, a structure
duplicated here although with elaboration in each case.[103]

First, Christ is the provisional and temporary
representative of God before humanity and humanity before God, a
representative being necessary because of the weakness,
immaturity, or absence of one party in the face of the other.
Such a relationship assumes the irreplaceability, and hence
dignity, of the represented and assumes dependence on the
representative to act with responsibility in the name of the
represented through memory and time. Christ the Representative
is thus contrary to the figure of Christ in Anselm's
substitutionary theory of the atonement, who takes permanent
responsibility for us, assuming our replaceability (and hence,
lack of dignity) and the substitute's independence to act in his
own behalf through a specific act. Thus, like Philip
Melanchthon, Soelle stresses that the important thing is to know
Christ's benefits or what Christ did on our behalf, rather than

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[102]Dorothee Soelle, Choosing Life, trans. Margaret Kohl
(1980; reprint, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), 68.

[103]Heyward, The Redemption of God, 214-215.

to know Christ's nature, that Christ was fully God and fully human. At some point, however, both God and humanity will no longer need representation. At that time each will come into their own full identity, acting and deciding face-to-face, and this is called the Kin-dom of God.

Second, Christ is political, in the sense of being concerned with power. Christ de-mythologizes power and embodies the reality that relational power is ultimately stronger than institutional oppression.[104] Jesus Christ lived in a society structured on patriarchal power, but replaced it with one structured by the spirit of equality in community.[105]

Third, the historical Jesus is Christ for us in a mystical way.[106] Mystical love transcends every god who is less than love.[107] Christ is the ongoing historical presence of the Jesus who loved. In Christianity mysticism and revolution are closely aligned in suffering.[108] Jesus is political love that suffers for justice. "Love does not require the cross but _de facto_ ends up on the cross. . . . The cross is the world's answer to

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[104]Soelle, _Christ the Representative_, 105.

[105]Soelle, _Political Theology_, 66.

[106]For the linkages between feminism, liberation, and mysticism see Soelle, "Mysticism, Liberation, and the Names of God," 179-85.

[107]Soelle, _Suffering_, 94.

[108]Soelle considers Ernesto Cardenal, Minister of Culture in Nicaragua, a revolutionary mystic in her forward, "The Revolution Fights Against the Theology of Death," in The Amanecida Collective, _Revolutionary Forgiveness: Feminist Reflections on Nicaragua_ (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1987), xvii.

attempts at liberation."[109] We can avoid suffering only by ceasing to love. Christ is God's vulnerability, God's suffering made visible to the world.[110]

Fourth, Christ is the one whose life revealed and whose presence evokes the imagination to risk, to make visible the invisible possibility of relationship and justice.[111] Justice is both the ethical establishment of love in human life and the eschatological ideal. To be related to the future is not to a future made or projected, but to a future which arrives and is received through self surrender. It is in the bourgeoisie's interest to find the meaning of history in the present, but it is in the interest of the oppressed to find the meaning of history in the future.[112] Christ is the image of that future possibility.

Fifth, Christ means the liberation from imprisoning powers. For Soelle sin is most importantly interpreted politically. It is not simply pride or rebelling against God's will, but is collaboration with the structures of society which oppress and apathy/despair about changing it.[113] The "flesh" which we are to reject is the power of society's structures (to have, to

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[109]Soelle, Suffering, 164.

[110]Dorothee Soelle, "Blood of the Dragon, Blood of the Lamb," The Other Side 23 (Sept. 1987): 26.

[111]Soelle, Beyond Mere Obedience, 80.

[112]Soelle, Political Theology, 42, 49.

[113]Soelle, Political Theology, 89f.

dominate, to feel no pain, to be unblemished) which have become irresistable to us.

Sixth, Christ is truth which is concrete.[114] Those who most need and want God have interests which they bring to God, regardless of the begging, persistance, and squelching of pride necessary. The verification principle of every theological statement is future-enabling praxis; a statement is true if it makes persons more capable of love, if it encourages and does not obstruct liberation of individual and community.[115]

Seventh, Christ is the one who identifies with the non-identical. God put Godself at risk, becoming dependent on us, in identifying with those not-like-God.[116] It is for those not-like-God that God came and loved. Yet, to identify oneself with Christ is to become more like Christ, as a lover resembles a beloved more and more closely.[117] Thus, Soelle's Christology answers profoundly the need for working-class liberation from domination to a life of dignity.

The second theme suggested in Soelle's work is the need for liberation from survival to life. Cynicism is believing that what one does has no influence, no purpose beyond the moment and is only linked to survival. Those who must use all of their

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[114]Dorothee Soelle, The Truth is Concrete, trans. Dinah Livingstone (1967; reprint, New York: Herder & Herder, 1969), 67-81.

[115]Dorothee Soelle, Political Theology, 5, 76.

[116]Soelle, Christ the Representative, 152.

[117]Soelle, Choosing Life, 75.

energy merely to survive are living a kind of death, according to Soelle.[118] Biblically death is understood as looking on others not as a gift or blessing, but as a threat, danger, or competition. God did not create humanity for survival but for life in its fullness.

Bourgeois ideology suggests that the individual who does not win loses, that what is mine is not yours.[119] Competition is understood as the lifeblood of the capitalist system. "To live for bread alone is to die by bread alone, and this is not a natural death. It is a violent death, imposed on us by the structures of profit making," says Soelle.[120] Yet the Great Enemy is not death itself, but rather death pretending to be life, the idols who promise life but deliver death. The Christian truth, however, is that we do not stand alone winning or losing, but Christ stands with us as together we participate in either the creativity or destruction of love and life, as we unmask cynicism and apathy to rediscover a sense of discontent and anger which seeks to be free from captivity and fear that we may choose life.[121] For our lives are connected, and what is mine is yours -- both the profits and the pain. In fact, one can

[118]Soelle, Choosing Life, 12.

[119]Soelle, The Truth is Concrete, 23.

[120]Dorothee Soelle, Death by Bread Alone: Texts and Reflections on Religious Experience, trans. David L. Scheidt (1975; reprint, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978), 6.

[121]Soelle, Choosing Life, ix.

accept tremendous suffering if it is done for some greater cause, for the survival and freedom of many.

Death reigns where alienation and violence are, when we love what makes us unfeeling, when we fear failure and dying. Death reigns when we categorize, regulate, control, and kill spontaneity and desire. The God of death preserves rather than creates, governs rather than changes, protects rather than liberates. This God doesn't take sides, but merely values tolerance and friendliness.[122]

In repressive religious tradition, both work and the pains of childbirth are viewed as punishment. In liberating religious tradition, both work and sexuality are life-giving. Liberating work is a form of creative self-expression, contributing to society, reconciling with nature.[123] Liberating sexuality is marked by the expression of trust and ecstasy, connection with the world, and mutuality.[124] Sexuality and love are not private but are deeply connected to socio-political life. They are not to console us or to compensate for the hard public work we do. Love and sexuality are rather to ease our defenses (which keep us separate) and to enlarge our soul.[125]

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[122]Soelle, Death By Bread Alone, 9, 10.

[123]Dorothee Soelle, Beyond Mere Dialogue: On Being Christian and Socialist (1978; reprint, Detroit: Christians for Socialism in the U.S., 1982), 40.

[124]Dorothee Soelle and Shirley Cloyes, To Work and To Love: A Theology of Creation (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984).

[125]Soelle, To Work and To Love, 151. Also Dorothee Soelle, The Strength of the Weak: Toward a Christian Feminist Identity,

Soelle suggests that everyone alive is waiting, that what is important is not what someone is but what s/he is waiting for. Jesus consorted with tax collectors and sinners because he didn't judge people by their habits or views but by their expectations. When the cross is at the center of life, the "yes" to life and the "yes" to finitude must be understood as its context so that one remains open to the future.[126] If one's suffering is for the whole of life, it becomes integrated with the vision of the Kindom of God. One has learned to die and is ready to die when one no longer hates, no longer fears, and affirms life. And this is, of course, much easier when we know who and whose we are.

While dialectical materialism errs to the degree that determinism from the past controls the future, and capitalism errs in betraying the future for the present, Christianity gives us the confidence that what is now death or mere survival will in time be life. Resurrection means the capacity to keep loving life in the face of suffering and death.

Soelle suggests that the goals of cynicism and survival are consumerism, getting along well without damage to ourselves, and being tolerant. The goals of faith and life, however, are being capable of love, making justice/righteousness possible, and being militant and passionate.[127] Soelle is saying that there can be

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trans. Robert Kimber and Rita Kimber (1978; reprint, Philadelphia: Westminster, 1984), 36-37.

[126]Soelle, Suffering, 106.

[127]Soelle, Choosing Life, 17.

no Christian theology that does not consider the poor, including the working poor. As Theo Witvliet has clarified for us, the question all liberation theologies seek to answer is not the challenge of the non-believer but the challenge of the non-person.[128] These are theologies rooted in the reality of domination and dependence, and the struggle against these.

The third theme that I find in Soelle's theology is liberation from isolation to community. The question of "Who am I?" or the question of identity is not merely subjective and private but is a social question as well. Humans live in the nexus of being an "I", a creatively self-determining entity in the midst of being determined by biological, social, cultural forces. In the beginning of life was relationship. Humans in society are claimed, shaped, damaged, and distorted by that society. And salvation is not an individual event but is also social, such that none is saved until all are saved. We do not become ourselves by ourselves. Rather, we are who we are because of an-other's interest in and recognition of us.[129] Christ represents the private, the invisible, and the particular with the goal of a reconciliation which is public, visible, and universal. The yearning for home is the corporate meaning of the wish to be whole.[130]

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[128]Theo Witvliet, <u>A Place in the Sun: An Introduction to Liberation Theology in the Third World</u>, trans. John Bowden (1984; reprint, Maryknoll: Orbis, 1985).

[129]Soelle, <u>Christ the Representative</u>, 31.

[130]Soelle, <u>Death By Bread Alone</u>, 129.

Bourgeois ideology has deluded us into believing that the individual is unique by what s/he does, for this is how achievement is measured and rewarded. Actually we are quite replaceable in what we do in this post-industrial, technological age. We become unique and irreplaceable only through those who love us.

For many generations women were socialized into the illusion that they could escape poverty through marriage, just as those who work for pay (mostly men, but increasing numbers of women as well) are socialized into the illusion that poverty can be escaped through personal advancement. We are all told that God helps those who help themselves. We are told not to get involved, it doesn't concern us. These are individualistic and isolationist solutions to systemic evil.[131] They are solutions based on a lie. It is also an error of bourgeois ideology, as espoused by Reinhold Niebuhr, that freedom, adventure, self-determination, happiness, and love can salvaged for the private sphere since these are non-existant in the public sphere. This burdens and destroys the private sphere immeasurably.[132]

Sin itself may helpfully be understood as the hoarding or non-mutuality of good and the fracturing of community. The sin of greed among the bourgeoisie is the desire for more for oneself to the exclusion of the whole. This is a violation of justice. The sin of envy among the working class is reviewing what another

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[131]Soelle, Suffering, 67.

[132]Soelle, Choosing Life, 30.

has, can do, or can be, and begrudging it with hatred, jealousy, resentment. It is grief over a neighbor's good fortune.[133] This is a violation of love. In either case the good is non-mutual and the Kin-dom of God delayed.

Common among the suffering oppressed is an isolated muteness about their experience of suffering, which for Soelle includes not only physical and psychological pain, but also the social pain of degradation or fear of it.[134] The importance of Jesus Christ as Logos or Word among the working class is that Jesus can speak for them until they are able to speak for themselves. When Jesus gives his word, he gives his person. In that can the working class place their trust. Liberation begins as muteness ceases and the expression of isolation and alienation is communicated and confronted. And it is communicated with feeling. Bourgeois ideology would have us forget the wailing lamentations of the Hebrews and believe that emotion must be both private and restrained, that the ideal is to feel no pain.[135]

Prayer is, therefore, really subversive activity. It is an open outcry before a witness and making alliance with God against injustice. It assumes that neither the suffering one nor God is

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[133]Dorothee Soelle, The Arms Race Kills, Even Without War, trans. Gehard A. Elston (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982), 29, 35. See also Geevarghese Mar Osthathios, Theology of a Classless Society (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1979), 123, who suggests that the sin of the rich is hardness of heart and the sin of the poor is jealousy, lack of trust, immobility.

[134]Soelle, Suffering, 13-14.

[135]Soelle, Death by Bread Alone, 21.

mute. "We should lead pain out of its private corner to achieve human solidarity," says Soelle.[136] As suffering moves from muteness to expression (remembering the victims and accusing the tyrant), it finally must reach the phase of solidarity or joint-action to change the structures of oppression and suffering.[137] Neither God nor justice is non-partisan and neutral, but both take sides with the oppressed. This is the meaning of taking up one's cross -- to take sides, to make visible the invisible, to share a vision, and to struggle for a just community.[138] Church at its best then is where stories of loss and of hope are told, where no one is alone either in defeat or in dreaming.[139] The cry of the oppressed is essentially that "Because God helps everyone, we are here to help each other."[140]

The issue of power is one that threads itself through this entire study. At one point in the development of his psychological theory, Adler understood the primary human goal to be the will to power. Marx based his social theory on the understanding that the primary characteristic of a class society was the unequal distribution of power due to private ownership and control of the means of economic production. Liberation

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[136]Soelle, Suffering, 45.

[137]Soelle, Suffering, 73.

[138]Soelle, Beyond Mere Dialogue, 24-25.

[139]Soelle and Steffensky, 62, 63.

[140]Dorothee Soelle, "Church: They Had Everything in Common," Theology Today 42 (July 1985): 216.

theologians of the American minority communities and the global Third World understand the problem of dominance-oppression to point to the necessity of mutual empowerment.

Power is important in its instrumental aspect: it comes from the Old French root poeir, meaning "to be able."[141] Those with no power, including women, ethnic minorities, and the poor and working-class need the power to be able -- to live, to love, to work, to be mutually free in community. As noted by Marxist-feminist Catharine A. MacKinnon, to be deprived of one's work or one's sexuality is real lack of power.[142]

Only decision-making which heeds the real and relative lack of power in working-class lives can be deemed truly just. Only counseling which empowers working-class women collectively can be deemed truly pastoral. And only by knowing the one without power can we begin to know the true meaning of the Kin-dom of God.

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[141]"Power," Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary.

[142]Catharine A. MacKinnon, "Feminism, Marxism, Method and the State: An Agenda for Theory," The Signs Reader: Women, Gender and Scholarship, eds. Elizabeth Abel and Emily K. Abel (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 228.

CHAPTER 2

Socioeconomic Class and the Intersection of

Employment, Fertility, and Marriage in

Shaping the Working-Class Woman's Life

Definition of Socioeconomic Class

There is no consensus among sociologists on the definition

of socioeconomic class. As noted by Marie Haug,

> Social class has continued to be an elusive concept in
> American sociology. . . . [There are] disagreements
> over whether class differentiation is a discrete or
> continuous variable, whether it takes different forms
> in large cities as against small towns, and whether it
> is a subjective phenomenon to be scaled by self-
> placement or an objective one to be scored by one or
> more independent indicators. . . . With such conceptual
> haziness, it is not surprising that no generally
> accepted measurement of social class location has been
> devised.[1]

Some suggest that class is determined by asking people to self-

designate (they belong to the class in which they claim to be).[2]

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[1]Marie Haug, "Social Class Measurement: A Methodological
Critique," Issues in Social Inequality, eds. Gerald W. Thielbar
and Saul D. Feldman (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972), 429.

[2]Such is the contention of Elizabeth Bott, "The Concept of
Class as a Reference Group," Issues in Social Inequality, eds.
Gerald W. Thielbar and Saul D. Feldman (Boston: Little, Brown,
1972), 47-68. Class defined as the largest group of people whose
members have intimate access to one another is suggested by
Allison Davis, Burleigh Gardner, and Mary Gardner, "The Class
System of the White Caste," Readings in Social Psychology, ed.
Theodore Newcomb and Eugene Hartley (New York: Henry Holt, 1947),
468. The most common reference group people use to name their
own standing is the one they work in rather than the one they
were born in, according to Richard Coleman and Lee Rainwater,
Social Standing in the U.S.: New Dimensions of Class (New York:

Others suggest that class is determined by occupation,[3] or some

combination of factors in which occupation is primary.[4] Others

say that class is best determined by education,[5] and still others

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Basic, 1978), 144-54.

Lionel S. Lewis, "Class and Perception of Class," Social
Forces 42, no.3 (1964): 336-40, notes that lower-class persons
see fewer social classes than those in the middle and upper
classes, due to attempts at self-elevation, that those at the top
would enhance their position by seeing many categories while
those near the bottom would enhance theirs by seeing few. Lewis
never explores the possibility that lower classes see fewer
social classes because they are clear that "either you have or
you don't," and that the basic class antagonism between those in
control of investments and work and those who have no control is
merely clouded by many class gradations.

[3]U.S. Bureau of the Census, Methodology and Scores of
Socioeconomic Status, Working Paper no. 15 (Washington: GPO,
1963). In 1917 the Alba Edwards hierarchical scale of "head" and
"hand" occupations was developed. Then "head" workers were
ranked by training and prestige and "hand" workers by level of
skill. A similar usage was reflected in the 1930 census.

[4]Max Weber's understanding of hierarchical position included
economics, prestige, and power. See Mayer, 461. Gerhard Lenski,
Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification (New York:
McGraw Hill, 1966), 74, suggests the combination of prestige (via
occupation), power (via property), and privilege (via politics)
determines class. He also notes that statistically prestige (or
occupational class) is 5/6 accounted for by income and education
(p. 430). In 1958 the Census Bureau began to use a combined
index of wife's education and husband's occupation + income. In
1960 it modified this position to say that the head of the family
has the highest income and the occupation-income-education of
this person (male or female) determines the socioeconomic status
of the whole family. Housing and ethnicity are not considered.
See U.S. Bureau of the Census, Methodology and Scores of
Socioeconomic Status, 1. R. H. Tawney, Equality (1931; reprint,
New York: Capricorn, 1961), 53, claims that class is a "broad
spectrum" dividing individuals according to resources, manner of
life, amount of income, source of income, ownership of property,
connection with those who own property, security or insecurity of
economic position, directing or being directed. He also notes
that the criteria change from generation to generation.

[5]Delbert Miller, Handbook of Research Design and Social
Measurement (New York: David McKay, 1977), 211, reports that the
Duncan and Blau Index (1961) finds the best predictor of

by income.[6] The sociological discussion about the definition of

socioeconomic status to be education, though this index has been questioned for use with skilled workers. The Hollingshead Two Factor Index (1957) also claims to measure status rather than class. That education is the strongest determinant of status is confirmed in a 1972-74 NORC study reported by McKee J. McClendon, "The Occupational Status Attainment Processes of Males and Females," American Sociological Review 41, no.1 (1976): 52-64. While higher status for more education was equally true for white males and females, it was significantly higher for black females than for black males. S. M. Miller and Frank Riessman, "Are Workers Middle Class?" Dissent 8, no.4 (1961): 512, suggest that while income and the desire for success may have increased in some of the trades and among others in the traditional working class, educational differences are much more important than income in changing attitudes and values.

Rosalind Petchesky, however, reports that education is the most reliable criteria of class because it influences the probability of seeking employment as well as the kind of job and earnings attained in "Reproduction and Class Divisions Among Women," Class, Race, and Sex: The Dynamics of Control, eds. Amy Swerdlow and Hanna Lessinger (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1983), 232. Ruth Sidel, Urban Survival: The World of Working Class Women (Boston: Beacon, 1978), 5, suggests that the educational criterion of working-class women is 12 + 2 years of education or less.

[6]Seymour M. Miller, "The American Lower Classes: A Typological Approach," New Perspectives on Poverty, eds. Arthur B. Shostak and William Gomberg (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965), 25. Miller claims that underemployment, unemployment, and seasonal employment make income a more useful criterion than occupation to determine class. Income level (amount) + regularity of employment provides an index of security which he utilizes in understanding the lower classes (along with an index of family stability in coping with problems).

Renate Bridenthal, "The Family Tree: Contemporary Patterns in the U.S.," Household and Kin, eds. Amy Swerdlow et al., (Old Westbury, N.Y.: Feminist Press, 1981), 53-56, suggests the following way to understand class by income:
1.5 percent = Upper Class (own 80 percent of the U.S. stock and are paid profits rather than wages);
11.5 percent = Upper Middle Class (earn $30,000 - 50,000+, own smaller investment capital and businesses, are professionals, executives, consultants, sports and entertainment personalities);
41.1 percent = Middle Class (earn $15,000 - 30,000, are middle managers, small shop owners, professionals with public agencies, teachers, craftspeople);
36.6 percent = Lower Middle or Working Class (earn $5,000 - 15,000, are non-professional, non-managers in industry and

socioeconomic class focuses, as did Karl Marx, on one's
relationship to the means of production -- a key factor in a
capitalist money economy. In the case of women, however, class
is also determined by one's relationship to reproduction,
including the biological reproduction of child-bearing, the
reproduction of the labor force through housework and child care,
and social reproduction of relations and conditions of production
through value transmission and socialization.[7]

Hence in the perspective assumed here, socioeconomic classes
are not defined positionally in terms of occupation, education,
or income, but in terms of social relations of control over
investments and wealth, over decision-making, over others' work,
and over one's own work,[8] as well as one's relation to
reproduction. The class of those who have little or nothing to
do with reproduction is determined almost wholly by their
relation to economic production. The class of those who have
little direct relation to economic production is determined by
their relations to reproduction and to the source of their

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manufacturing, clerical, service, maintenance);
9.3 percent = Lower Class (under $5,000).

[7]These three levels of reproduction are noted in Petchesky,
"Reproduction and Class Divisions Among Women," 229.

[8]E. O. Wright, "American Class Structure," American
Sociological Review 47 (Dec. 1982): 709-726. For Marxist
definitions of class see also Stanley Aronwitz, False Promises:
The Shaping of American Working Class Consciousness (New York:
McGraw-Hill, 1973), and Harry Braverman, Labor and Monopoly
Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century (New
York: Monthly Review Press, 1974).

economic sustenance.[9] The intersection of relations of both economic production and reproduction constitute a nexus of <u>power relations</u>.[10] Thus, class is not a thing but a process of relations both situationally and historically, which includes the unequal distribution of rights and privileges, duties and obligations in the public arenas of production and reproduction.

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[9]The problem of what to do about women without paid employment if women's class is determined by their occupation, is noted by C. Delphy, "Women in Stratification Studies," <u>Doing Feminist Research</u>, ed. Helen Roberts (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981). Women without paid employment who hire and supervise domestic workers, in essence serve as "managers" in the family economy between the one who controls the family economics and the laboring worker. This, of course, is the privilege of upper middle-class and upper-class women. And contrary to some stereotypes, domestic workers do not identify with their employers and do not accept the justness of their oppression in spite of deference rituals which create the impression of loyalty and identification. See Judith Rollins, <u>Between Women: Domestics and Their Employers</u> (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985), 232.

[10]With the publication of C. Wright Mills' <u>The Power Elite</u> (1942) stratification literature briefly shifted emphasis from prestige to unequal distributions of economic power. Gerhard Lenski, who said in <u>Power and Privilege</u> that stratification differences become prominent with resource surpluses, warned against the exclusion of other forms of power (e.g., voting and consumer power) in focusing on economic power, so the literature regained a middle-class focus with a resurgent interest on mobility. See John Pease, William Form, and Joan Huber Rytina, "Ideological Currents in American Stratification Literature," <u>American Sociologist</u> 5, no.2 (1970): 131.
The distinction between "power" as the ability to elicit from another behavior not necessarily of his/her own choosing and "authority" as legitimate power, is noted by Linda Phelps, "Patriarchy and Capitalism," <u>Building Feminist Theory: Essays from Quest</u> (New York: Longman, 1981), 161-173. A more comprehensive understanding of "authority" is the emotional expression of power between unequals, which includes not only the legitimate (legal-rational) authority of issuing commands and ruling legally, but also traditional (hereditary) authority and charismatic authority (to an exemplary or sacred individual who promises a new truth). See Richard Sennett, <u>Authority</u> (New York: Random House, 1981), 20.

In terms of economic production, capitalist classes include: (1) the bourgeoisie, who own and control the means of production, who employ and dominate workers, (2) the proletariat or working class who are dispossessed of the means of production, sell their labor to owners, and are thereby dominated and exploited, and (3) the managers and supervisors between the bourgeoisie and the working class, who generally do not own the means of production and hence are dominated by bourgeoisie, but have varying levels of authority to control sanctions, decision-making, and positions within the hierarchy and hence dominate workers.[11] These three groups basically constitute the upper class, working class, and middle class respectively. From the perspective of the working class, this structure has not changed appreciably with the shift from private individual to public shareholder ownership.[12]

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[11]Dale Johnson, "Dialectics and Determination in the Theory of Social Classes," Class and Social Development: Theoretical Reflections on Intermediate Classes, ed. Dale Johnson (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1982), 53, suggests that unproductive labor which supervises the labor force and draws its salary not from what it produces, but from the value which capital appropriates from working-class production and then redistributes to them, experiences social relations with the employer differently than does the worker for s/he lives off the fruits of the exploitation of others rather than experiencing a social relation of direct exploitation. According to Szymanski, 157, middle-class work includes those who produce and transmit capitalist relations (social scientists, welfare workers, literary apologists), supervise and direct labor power (managers), produce (small farmers, artisans, engineers), do accounting and realization of value (bankers, accountants, small businesspersons, advertising executives, high level salespersons), and general social services (doctors, lawyers).

[12]Dennis Wrong, "New Class: Does It Exist?" Dissent 30 (Fall 1983): 497, believes that classes are no longer the chief actors in history, that there is no longer a ruling class of private owners of the means of production. Wrong's view finds affinity

Unlike capitalist production, in simple commodity production the petty bourgeoisie or artisans own and control their own activity, but often dominate no one else. Between capital production and simple commodity production are: (1) the small employers who are like the bourgeoisie in ownership and control, except they have fewer employees, and (2) the semi-autonomous wage earners, such as professionals who have control over their own activity, but are not self-employed and are therefore dispossessed of the means of production. The petty bourgeoisie and the small employers are generally middle-class in terms of power relations (they control their own production), but may find their status and network of social relations to be working-class due to level of education, income, or prestige which they share with the working class. The semi-autonomous wage-earners share college education in common with the middle class, but are increasingly proletarianized as the distance between conceptualization and execution of their task increases.[13]

With this definition of class in the economic production aspect, occupation designates the content of work activity, but

in Daniel Bell, who believes class is now a cultural attitude rather than a social-structural concept, a view with which this study takes exception.

[13]This schematization is offered by E. O. Wright, "American Class Structure," 711, who is indebted to Marx. When Marx referred to the middle class, he used the categories of simple commodity production. Since World War II especially the middle management categories of capitalist production have been predominant, according to Rayna Rapp, "Family and Class in Contemporary America: Notes Toward an Understanding of Ideology," Science and Society 42, no. 3 (1978): 294.

class designates the social relations of work activity. In other words, a farmer[14] could be a worker (hired hand), a semi-autonomous employee (self-employed farmer who rents land), a manager (employed by a large land-owner to manage a farm and the necessary workers), or a petty bourgeois artisan (small farm owner and farmer). A nurse might be degreed or apprenticed and therefore more or less autonomous and worker-defined (vs. management-defined).[15] Hence, occupations are more like trajectories than slots or positions, although this is more the case for men than women. Working-class persons are in non-professional, non-managerial, and non-administrative relationship with the means of production. Using this definition of class, the working class is comprised of 46.3 percent (according to E. O. Wright) or as much as 59 percent (according to Albert

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[14]Oscar W. Larson, Gilbert W. Gillespie, and Fred Buttel, "Sources of Social Class Identification Among Farmers," Rural Sociology 48, no.1 (1983): 82, interviewed 607 New York farm operators and found them to identify most frequently with the working class. Criteria separating middle and working classes were education, total family income, net worth, and number of hired workers. This confirms the 1949 study by Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes. Rural women have not been studied extensively because they are more inaccessible than urban women geographically and they have little time or energy to spare, according to Joan Jensen, With These Hands: Women Working the Land (Old Westbury: Feminist Press, 1981), xvi. But the class determination of farm women is much more guided by level of education than size of farm and hired hands (as it is for men), according to Rachel Ann Rosenfeld, Farm Women: Work, Farm, and Family in the U.S. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 163.

[15]In some settings there is conflict between apprenticed nurses and degreed nurses. The latter are often labeled the "professionals," according to Barbara Melosh, The Physician's Hand: Work Culture and Conflict in American Nursing (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), 207f.

Szymanski) of all employed persons.[16] At least 54 percent of women who work (which is nearly 50 percent of all women over age 16) are working-class,[17] although several studies, including a 1980 Department of Commerce report, claim that as many as 80 percent of all employed women are in working-class occupations even if there is other household income.[18] Women are more proletarianized than men not only due to the type of their occupation but their worker status within all occupations.[19] And

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[16]Szymanski, _Class Structure_, 230.

[17]Wright, "American Class Structure," 722.

[18]U.S. Department of Commerce, _Statistical Abstract for 1979_ (Washington: GPO, 1980), 415. See also Sandra Porter, "Representing the 80%: Needs of the Pink and Blue Collar Woman Worker," _Women's Lives: New Theory, Research, and Policy_, ed. Dorothy McGuigan (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1980), 417-421, and Mary Rubin, _Women and Poverty_, Research Summary Series: 4 (Washington: B.P.W. Foundation, 1982), 2.

[19]The proletarianization of clerical work is a good example of this process. When clerical work was done primarily by men, it was considered middle-class white collar work (with some managerial responsibilities) and a means to advancement, but now that it is primarily women's work, it is working-class dead-end employment, increasingly alienating with increasingly automated offices. See Rosemary Crompton and Gareth Jones, _White-Collar Proletariat: Deskilling and Gender in Clerical Work_ (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), 2. See also Anne Machung, Roberta Goldberg, Cynthia Costello, _The Politics of Clerical Work: Women on the Move_, Research Summary Series 11:3 (Washington, D.C.: B.P.W. Foundation, 1986). Margery Davies, _Woman's Place is at the Typewriter: Office Work and Office Workers, 1870-1930_ (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), 5, describes the private secretary less as a clerical worker than a personal servant to her employer, and while she identifies (usually) her interests with (usually) his, she is working-class nonetheless. Reflecting on this same phenomenon, it is important to note that proletarianization refers to objective conditions of employment rather than subjective feelings about or identity with one's employment, according to Evelyn N. Glenn and Roslyn L. Feldberg, "Degraded and Deskilled: The Proletarianization of

racial proletarianization is even greater than sexual

proletarianization, such that over 60 percent of all working-

class positions are filled by women and ethnic minority

persons.[20]

To define class in terms of power relations of economic

production helps to clarify the nature of class in post-

industrial technocracy. Rapid technolgical expansion has

generated jobs for the creation and distribution of massive

amounts of information. Some have understood these employees to

be part of an expanded middle class, members of the "New

Class,"[21] primarily because they appear to work more with their

minds than with their bodies and generally do not seem to

struggle economically. Actually the viewpoint of power relations

adopted here would argue that while some in the informational

technocracy are managers and supervisors, most are clerical, an

expanding working class of de-skilled laborers assisting a small

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Clerical Work," Social Problems 25, no.1 (1977): 52. For
further study see also Judith Ann, "The Secretarial Proletariat,"
Sisterhood is Powerful, ed. Robin Morgan (New York: Random House,
1970), 86-100; Albert A. Blum, Marten Estey, James Kuhn, Wesley
Wildman, and Leo Troy, White-Collar Workers (New York: Random
House, 1971), 17; and Roberta Goldberg, Organizing Women Office
Workers: Dissatisfaction, Consciousness and Action (New York:
Praeger, 1983).

[20]Wright, "American Class Structure," 718-24.

[21]Wrong, "New Class," 491, suggests that the "new class" is
neither new, nor a separate class. In early twentieth-century
Germany the place of an intellectually based group in the class
system was raised, and C. Wright Mills reopened the issue in the
U.S. in the 1950s with his book White Collar. Both Marx and
Mills suggested intellectuals were an intermediate stratum
between the propertied and manual workers.

knowledgeable middle-class elite, which finds its power not in money or property so much as in expertise.[22] The elite of the New Class participate in the judicial system, for example, as expert witnesses who define mental health. They are guided by an ethic of "helping" or "caring,"[23] an ambivalent value to be discussed in Chapter 4.

The same logic which places informational technocrats in the clerical working class, would also place self-employed artisans such as plumbers, carpenters, and electricians in the middle class due to power relations, even though the status or prestige of these "blue collar aristocrats" is working-class due to

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[22]This perspective is taken by Dale L. Johnson, ed., Class and Social Development: Theoretical Reflections on Intermediate Classes (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1982), 23, and John Pappademos, "Intellectuals and the Working Class," Social Class in the Contemporary U.S., eds. Gerald Erickson and Harold L. Schwartz (Minneapolis: Marxist Educational Press, 1977), 76.

In the perspective here, lower white collar employees are working-class due to power relations of employment, although they might also be called working-class on the basis of life-style and associations in a functionalist understanding, as described by Reeve Vanneman, "The Occupational Composition of American Classes," American Journal of Sociology 82, no.4 (1977): 783-808.

Various understandings of the "New Middle Class" and the estimated percentage of the population which they comprise are summarized in R. M. O'Brien and V. Burris, "Comparing Models of Class Structure," Social Science Quarterly 64 (Sept. 1983): 445-59:

11 percent -- Guglielmo Carchedi, On the Economic Identification of Social Classes (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977).
21 percent -- Barbara Ehrenreich and John Ehrenreich, "The Professional Managerial Class," Between Labor and Capital, ed. Pat Walker (Boston: South End Press, 1979), 5-45.
49 percent -- Anthony Giddens, The Class Structure of Advanced Societies (New York: Harper & Row, 1973).
69 percent -- Nicos Poulantzas, Classes in Contemporary Capitalism (London: New Left Books, 1975).

[23]Barbara Hargrove, The Emerging New Class: Implications for Church and Society (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1986), 8, 82, 91f.

educational deficits (apprenticeships are not the equivalent of college) and the manual nature of the work.

Additionally class defined as power relations aids in clarifying the class determination of women. According to Joan Acker, in traditional sociological theory the family is the unit in the stratification system.[24] When treated as a unit, the social position of the family is determined by the status of the male head of household, and females live in families with their status determined by that of the male to whom they are attached.[25] The female's class position and status are equal to that of her man because the family is a unit of equivalent

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[24]Joan Acker, "Women and Social Stratification: A Case of Intellectual Sexism," American Journal of Sociology 78, no.4 (1973): 936-45. The following are representative of stratification literature which understands the family to be the unit of analysis: Peter H. Rossi, William Sampson, Christine Bose, Guillermina Jasso, and Jeff Passel, "Measuring Household Social Standing," Social Science Research 3, no.3 (1974): 169-190; J.H. Goldthorpe, C. Llewellyn, and C. Payne, Social Mobility and the Class Structure in Modern Britain (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980), 288; Giddens, The Class Structure of Advanced Societies; F. Parkin, Class Inequality and Political Order (London: Granada Publishing, Paladin, 1972), 15.

One of the earliest to dispute the homogeneity of family status was Gerhard E. Lenski, Power and Privilege. Also D. J. Treiman and K. Terrell, "Sex and the Process of Status Attainment: A Comparison of Working Men and Women," American Sociological Review 40, no.2 (1975): 174-200.

[25]Talcott Parsons et al., Family: Socialization and Interaction Process (New York: Free Press, 1955). Luther Otto, "Class and Status in Family Research," Journal of Marriage and the Family 37, no.2 (1975): 235, claims, however that it is not sex (husband) which predominates in the selection of social and friendship relations reflecting class position, but the higher occupational status person. At least one-sixth of families are supported solely by a female head of household, according to Crompton and Jones, White-Collar Proletariat, 130.

evaluation, and women determine their own social status only when they are not attached to a man.[26]

The definition of class according to power relations of economic production interacting with power relations of reproduction suggests that any woman can determine her own class designation through her relationship to economic production and reproduction. A woman without paid employment derives her class designation from another, as do children until they enter production economy. A woman without paid employment who also has relations to reproduction (child-rearing, home maintenance, or health care for the disabled and elderly) has a class designation commensurate with her control over economic surplus.[27] When the

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[26]Walter B. Watson and Ernest A. T. Barth, "Questionable Assumptions in the Theory of Social Stratification," Pacific Sociological Review 7, no.1 (1964): 10-16 claim that the family is not a single unit of analysis because 78 percent of working-wife families have a difference of at least one occupational level between spouses and when there is a difference, the wife is more apt to hold the greater occupational prestige. This has implications for income, life-style, and socialization of children. Haug, "Social Class Measurement and Women's Occupational Roles," says that one-third of two-earner families are misclassified using Hollingshead's 2-factor index (calculating husband's occupation and education) because the wife's occupation and education level exceeds the husband's. N. Britten and A. Heath, "Women, Men, and Social Class," mimeo from University of Bristol, 1982, quoted in Crompton and Jones, 130, suggest that men and women in cross-class families have different characteristics and behavior than "male breadwinner" families.

[27]The need to redefine work so as to include the work of family care-giving, whether by decreasing the full-time workday in the public economy to six hours (to allow working two full-time jobs) or by paying caregivers wages is noted in Deanne Bonnar, "Toward the Feminization of Policy: Exit From an Ancient Policy by the Redefinition of Work," For Crying Out Loud: Women and Poverty in the U.S., eds. Rochelle Lefkowitz and Ann Withorn (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1986), 293. Women's care-giving activity spares the state billions of dollars in health care

government provides that economic assistance, her surplus, control, and class designation are lowest. The class determination of a woman with paid employment who has no relations to reproduction derives exclusively from the power relations in her economic production, as it does for men who have little on-going relationship to reproduction. The class determination of women with paid employment and relations to reproduction is a complex interactive nexus of power common to most working-class women. Families with differing class designations among several workers are cross-class families with all the tensions and conflicts inherent in such an arrangement. The definition does not camouflage such conflict.

The idea that men are the producers (paid laborers) and women the reproducers and consumers of the socioeconomic system is simply untrue for the majority of the working class. Women have been major producers throughout human history, and even the brief historical respite from wives' paid employment because of the unionization of some working-class men's jobs in this century is coming to an end. Working-class women nearly always work because they must, especially the younger women.

Nor is it true that when men control production, women control reproduction, for in fact only when a woman's economic contribution approaches (and does not greatly exceed) that of her husband does she have relative control over reproduction. Women

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costs in a cultural system where health insurance is contingent on employment rather than citizenship.

who do not work for pay outside the home or who work only part-time have less control than the full-time employed woman over if, when, and how many children she will have.

And the priority of the reproductive role for women is not consistent. The timing, spacing, and number of children determine a woman's labor market activity, but the reverse has also been true. Work activity also controls fertility in the working class through preventive or ex post facto birth control (illegal or legal abortions).[28] The close interconnection of production and reproduction for women is made explicit by Tilly and Scott,

> The age at which a woman marries, the number of children she bears, the size of the household in which she lives, and the value of children to the family all directly affect her working life. The amount of time required for household and childbearing activities affects the amount of time spent in productive work.[29]

Home and work are part of one world. As Joan Kelly suggests, "women's place is not a separate sphere but a position within social existence generally; women do women's work both at home and in the labor force."[30] Women are still paid an individual wage while men are paid a family wage, and interestingly, if

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[28]Further elaboration of this point may be found in L. J. Waite, "Working Wives and the Family Life Cycle," American Journal of Sociology 86, no.2 (1980): 275.

[29]Louise Tilly and Joan Scott, Women, Work and Family (New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1978), 7.

[30]Joan Kelly, "The Doubled Vision of Feminist Theory," Sex and Class in Women's History, eds. Judith L. Newton, Mary P. Ryan, and Judith R. Walkowitz (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983), 264.

working wives and working women heads of household were given equal pay for work equivalent to that of men, one-half of the poor families in the U.S. would be out of poverty.[31]

As mentioned in Chapter 1, functional social theories assume the vantage point of those in power (and the bourgeois ideological mystification adhering thereto), that all are equal and can negotiate for rewards and payments, that most anyone can be both buyer and seller. Of course, such theories ignore that women as well as the poor and working class "tend to run out of money before they can buy enough," as Nancy Hartsock suggests.[32] Conflict social theories, on the other hand, assume the vantage point of those not in power, of those who take orders rather than give orders, of those who are oppressed. Hartsock summarizes the issue of vantage point or "standpoint" in a helpful way:[33]

1. Material life (class position) structures and limits one's understanding of social relations.

2. Material life is structured in opposing ways, one is the inverse of the other, and that of the ruling class is partial and perverse.

3. All must participate in the vision of the ruling class, so it cannot be totally false.

4. The vision of the oppressed group must be struggled for and requires science for analysis and education for its furtherance.

5. The understanding of the oppressed is an engaged vision and exposes relations as inhuman, pointing to the need for change and liberation in history.

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[31]See Mary Rubin, Women and Poverty, 1.

[32]Hartsock, Money, Sex, and Power, 32, 49.

[33]Hartsock, Money, Sex, and Power, 118.

Hence, power under capitalism is not merely a quality of one class, but is a field of struggle, a relationship of domination. From the standpoint of the capitalist, appearance constitutes the whole of reality, those in power should be in power. Only by assuming the standpoint of the worker can one discover that appearance only constitutes part of reality, that inequities in power relations are in fact conflictual relations which are sometimes manifest but always latent, that there is a difference between one's apparent subjective interest (e.g., higher wages or access to birth control) and one's real interests (e.g., ending relations of domination and exploitation).[34] This study seeks to take the standpoint of the working-class woman, for whom liberation may be experienced partially through discovering her strengths or moving from the working class into the middle class through marriage and/or education and employment. But ultimately liberation means a collective restructuring of the system to eliminate oppression.

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[34]Hartsock, Money, Sex, and Power, 104, 127, 133. Hartsock also critiques the position that the allegedly powerless do have certain forms of power such as disintegrative power, inertial power, innovative power, socializing power, expressive power, explosive power, resistive power, cooperative power, and migratory power as enumerated by Bernice Carroll, "Peace Research: The Cult of Power," Journal of Conflict Resolution 16, no. 4 (1972), 608-609, which is similar to the position enunciated by Elizabeth Janeway, Powers of the Weak (New York: Knopf, 1980). Hartsock's critique is that this approach (an exchange theory of social power) diverts attention away from confronting domination, avoids facing the problem of changing the world, and fails to deal with the genderedness of power (p. 225).

Historical Issues in Relation to Socioeconomic Class

If Marx is correct that the structure of economic production shapes consciousness,[35] then it is likely that the process of psycho-social-moral development will vary among different classes of people. It is also true that as the structure of economic production changes through history, the process of psycho-social-moral development of a particular socioeconomic class will change as well. Hence, it is important to recognize some of the historical changes in the structure of the economy in particular, and in material conditions in general.

In the 3-4 million years of human history, people have achieved their livelihood in four primary ways, according to Rae Blumberg.[36] For several million years all groups did _foraging_ (hunting and gathering). In 60-80 percent of these societies food was mainly gathered rather than hunted, and women were the primary labor force in 86 percent of gathering societies. _Horticultural_ societies began about 18,000 years ago in Africa (10-12,000 years ago in the Middle East and 7-8000 years ago in Meso-America) when a stick or hoe started to be used on small garden-like plots. Women were the primary labor force in 80 percent of these societies. The foraging and horticultural

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[35]Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, _The German Ideology_, ed. C.J. Arthur (New York: International Publishers, 1970), 42, 59.

[36]Rae Lesser Blumberg, "A General Theory of Gender Stratification," _Sociological Theory 1984_, ed. Randall Collins (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1984), 28-31.

periods make up 99 percent of human history and generally display sex equality, including political equality.[37]

Agrarian societies began in the Middle East approximately 6000 years ago with the plowing of large cleared fields. The majority of these fields were non-irrigated, and women suddenly played a minor role in economic production, although in agrarian societies which demanded irrigation women continued to play a major role, as in Asian rice fields, for example. Interestingly, in twentieth-century agrarian cultures women still produce at least 50 percent of the world's food. The fourth period of human work history may be designated as the industrial period which began around C.E. 1800 in England and Northern Europe. A consistant pattern throughout this history is that the less property a society has, the more equal women are to men.[38]

The history of the division of labor, so crucial to modern industrial and post-industrial society reveals a changing relationship of persons to the communities of work and family. During the Middle Ages work was centered in family production and merchants bought what the artisans made. While the merchant requested goods and thereby controlled the quantity of the product, the family of the artisan still controlled the quality,

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[37]That men are usually more involved in the politics of hierarchically structured societies and women more equally in egalitarian societies is noted by Thomas S. Weisner, "Some Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Becoming Female," Becoming Female: Perspectives on Development, ed. Claire B. Kopp (New York: Plenum, 1979), 329.

[38]Szymanski, Class Structure, 503.

pace, and organization of work as well as the integration of work with family life.[39] During this period the man was usually the craftsman and his wife the seller and bookkeeper, and although women were in a few of the craft guilds, they were never officers.[40] Anthropologist Beatrice Whiting reports, however, that whenever men and women work, live, and sleep together, the society is more egalitarian, there is more intimacy, and there is less need for individuation.[41] This was the case before the division of labor with the Industrial Revolution.

With the advent of industrialization numerous divisions began to occur, including the separation of market and home. Work was evaluated by accumulation of capital rather than the needs of self and family.[42] Some women went to the factories, but most stayed at home as servants, family farm workers, or garment piece workers. By 1800 pervasive industrial centralization of control for maximum efficiency, productivity,

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[39]Rachel Kahn-Hut, Arlene Kaplan Daniels, and Richard Colvard, Women and Work (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 18. See also Heidi Hartmann, "Capitalism Patriarchy, and Job Segregation by Sex," The Signs Reader: Women, Gender, and Scholarship, eds. Elizabeth Abel and Emily Abel (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 203.

[40]Hunter College Women's Studies Collective, Women's Realities, Women's Choices (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 492.

[41]Beatrice Whiting, "Mothers and Daughters," Lecture at McAlister Center, Claremont Colleges, Claremont, Calif., 14 March 1985.

[42]The Calvinist roots of capitalism as espoused by Max Weber in his 1904 essay, "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism," are disputed by W. Stanford Reid, "Jean Calvin: The Father of Capitalism?" Themelios 8, no. 2 (1983): 19-25.

and profit removed people from their homes and their land.
Production was no longer for its "use value" but now for its
"exchange value." Workers earned wages, which were less than the
value of the products produced. The difference was profit.
Immigration of eastern and southern European groups to America
beginning in the 1840s filled the factories, and with the advent
of the Civil War, many women were among those numbers.[43] In the
nineteenth century these women who worked outside the home were
deemed morally inferior, either unfortunate or deliberately
perverse.[44] This is perhaps because by the end of the nineteenth
century 40 percent of the five million women who did paid work
were domestics in middle-class and upper-class homes.[45] These
workers were under the noses of those who would judge them.

The separation of home and market increased women's
responsibility for child care, and home became a refuge from work
for men. In the money economy which replaced the exchange
economy, the wage work of the market was valued and the non-wage
work of the home was devalued. While many poor and working-class

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[43]Stanley Feldstein and Lawrence Costello, eds., The Ordeal
of Assimilation: A Documentary History of the White Working
Class, 1830's to 1970's (New York: Doubleday, Anchor, 1974).

[44]This aspect of women's labor history is noted by Lynn
Weiner, From Working Girl to Working Mother (Chapel Hill:
University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 5, and also Clare B.
Fischer, "Liberating Work," Christian Feminism, ed. Judith L.
Weidman (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1984), 131.

[45]Hunter College Women's Studies Collective, 493.

women have worked outside the home for centuries,[46] by the nineteenth century middle-class women's work came to be understood as almost entirely domestic. According to Angela Davis, "the housewife is only about a hundred years old."[47]

In Marxist terms women's responsibility was the reproduction of class relations, for they did the invisible and unpaid work of raising children (future workers), maintaining the home of workers, facilitating interaction between worker's family and community (including extended family, school, neighborhood, police), and raising money for non-profit organizations (church, welfare, children's, and senior citizen's organizations).[48] This splitting of male and female, work and home, profit and non-profit has been responsible for the male-female wage differential. It also was accompanied by an ideological split between public and private life, between facts and morality.[49] Religion and morality became privatized by the nineteenth century, receding into the feminine world of the bourgeois home

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[46]Working-class women's employment outside the home as historical phenomenon is noted by Alice Kessler-Harris, Women Have Always Worked: A Historical Overview (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981), and Tilly and Scott, Women, Work, and Family.

[47]Angela Y. Davis, Women, Race and Class (New York: Vintage, 1983), 225.

[48]Kahn-Hut et al., Women and Work, 137.

[49]The designation of home and family as the sphere of emotion and love, and of the public arena as sphere of power and work is called "The Domestic Code." See Karen Brodkin Sacks, "Generations of Working Class Families," My Troubles Are Going to Have Trouble With Me: Everyday Trials and Triumphs of Women Workers, eds. Karen B. Sacks and Dorothy Remy (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1984), 15.

and divorced from the public and profitable world of power.[50]
Likewise did sexual morality come to be understood as private
practice in the bourgeois home much more than socially
constructed interchange.[51] Of course, the public is actually
very interconnected with the private, especially for the poor and
working class, whose individual wages are sufficient neither to
support a family nor give access to health care, contraception,
and legal abortion.

Gradually women have worked outside the home in increasing
numbers and their work is not restricted to reproduction of class
relations. The Census Bureau reports the following increases
between 1900 and 1980:[52]

Year	# of Women Working	% of Working Age Women Working
1900	4,999,000	20.0
1920	8,229,000	22.7
1940	13,007,000	25.8
1960	22,222,000	35.7
1980	44,668,000	49.9

[50]Rosemary Radford Ruether, "Home and Work: Women's Roles
and the Transformation of Values," Woman: New Dimensions, ed.
Walter J. Burghardt (1975; reprint, New York: Paulist, 1977), 77.
Ruether believes that typologies of women's nature also reversed
in the 19th century such that women were no longer understood as
less religious-spiritual-moral and more sexual than men (the
"whore" syndrome), but were now more religious-spiritual-moral
and less sexual than men (the "madonna" syndrome).

[51]Judith L. Newton, Mary P. Ryan, and Judith Walkowitz, Sex
and Class in Women's History (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul,
1983), 6.

[52]U.S. Bureau of Census, We the American Woman, [by Mavis
Jackson Dion] (Washington: GPO, 1984), 7. In the years 1900,
1920, and 1940 the "working age woman" was at least 14 years old;
beginning in 1960 the minimum age of the "working age woman" was
16 years.

Hence, while it was never strictly true that men were producers and women were reproducers and consumers within American society, it is even less true today as women enter the paid labor force increasingly out of need. In addition to increasing numbers of women who must work to supplement the family income in many poor and working-class families, increasing numbers of women who do not depend on a male's income[53] are in the work force: single women either delaying marriage or choosing not to marry, and women who are heads of household in 36 percent of all black families, 21 percent of all Hispanic families, and in 11 percent of all white families.[54] The Census Bureau reports the following changes between 1950 and 1980 in the patterns of heads of American households:[55]

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[53]Lois Rita Helmboldt, "Beyond the Family Economy: Black and White Working-class Women During the Great Depression," Feminist Studies 13, no. 3 (1987): 633, believes that as many as 1/4 of all women are not a part of a male-related family economy at some point in their lives (e.g., older single women not with their family of origin, widows, lesbians, women who have been deserted, are separated or divorced). She also notes that the "family economy" model is a white model: blacks and white ethnics from southern and eastern Europe are interdependent on kin groups (p. 634) and women alone rely much more on friends than on family (p. 647).

[54]Head of household statistics cited in Kahn-Hut et al., Women and Work, 193. The increased women's labor force participation of advanced capitalism is accompanied by a declining birthrate, although historically this was from a decrease in average family size, not childlessness, as is the case now, according to Kathleen Gerson, Hard Choices: How Women Decide About Work, Career, and Motherhood (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 5.

[55]U.S. Bureau of Census, "Household and Family Characteristics: March 1980," Current Population Reports, Series P-20, no. 336. (Washington: GPO, 1981), Tables A and 18.

Husband-Wife Households		Other			
Traditional	Working Wife	Female Head	Primary Individual	Male Head	Total
1950	59.4%	19.6%	8.4%	10.8%	1.8%	100%
1980	30.3%	30.6%	10.8%	26.1%	2.2%	100%

Globally women account for 44 percent of all subsistance income.[56] A 1979 United Nations report on the status of women remarks that if one considers both paid and unpaid work, women do two-thirds of the world's work and receive one-tenth of the income.[57]

The surge of unions in the 1930s provided increased wages and benefits to many working-class men, especially white men, but the wages of women did not gain equivalency. In fact, unequal pay of women was often written into union contracts so that women were not competing with male heads of household for jobs.[58] Rather than union membership, women were "given" protective legislation.[59] Women and ethnic men have always earned and

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[56]J. Arnoff and W. D. Crano, "A Re-Examination of the Cross-Cultural Principles of Task Segregation and Sex Role Differentiation in the Family," American Sociological Review 40 (Feb. 1975): 12.

[57]Hilda Scott, Working Your Way to the Bottom: Feminization of Poverty (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), x.

[58]After the Depression, poverty and immobility between classes were recognized and differentials were finally attributed to the structure of class relations in some of the stratification literature, according to Pease, Form and Rytina, 129.

[59]Hartmann, 221. In a Louis Harris poll in the mid-1980s it was discovered that 75% of women and blacks would join unions if given the chance, according to a National Women's Studies Association Conference workshop, "Women, Job Displacement, and the Challenges Facing Organized Labor," Champaign-Urbana, 13 June, 1986.

continue to earn less than white males doing comparable work in all occupational categories, which makes the realities of sexism and racism in the maintenance of class relations clear. Women and ethnics are the surplus labor pool, they are most replaceable and are paid the least. These groups are often deemed unstable employees, but when they occupy the least skilled job positions characterized by rapid turnover, the reason for supposed instability becomes obviously structural rather than individual.[60] This is true both nationally and internationally:

> Women of color are far more likely to work in less
> skilled and lower paying jobs. About 25% of Chinese
> American Women still work under harsh conditions in
> garment shops. In California's "Silicon Valley" women
> make up 75% of the assembly line work force, as they do
> along Route 128 outside Boston and in the anti-union,
> "right to work", state of North Carolina. Forty
> percent of the workers in these electronics factories
> are immigrant women. On the West Coast, the majority
> of the women are Filipinos, Thais, Samoans, Mexicans,
> and Vietnamese.[61]

After World War II numerous changes occurred in the world of work. Women were pushed out of industrial jobs, although 75 percent said that they preferred to continue, and they entered service, domestic, and office jobs. Since that time one might say that women have been in public homemaking jobs (cook, waitress, laundress, seamstress, textile and sewing machine

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[60]Kahn-Hut et al., 197-98.

[61]A. Fuentes and B. Ehrenreich, <u>Women in the Global Factory</u> (Boston: South End Press, 1983) quoted in Johnetta Cole, ed. <u>All American Women: Lines That Divide, Ties That Bind</u> (New York: Free Press, 1986), 9.

operator, maid, nurse, teacher) or communications jobs (keypunch, computer, typist, clerk, receptionist).[62]

In the 1970s and 1980s we have entered what some have called the post-industrial or second industrial revolution. Both Gil Green[63] and Richard Gillett[64] suggest that the nature of work in the last two decades has changed in several ways. First, the American economy is being de-industrialized. The closure and overseas re-location of many American industrial plants pushed 10 percent of the workforce or 11.5 million people out of work, created a decline in union membership from 35.5 percent of workers in 1945 to 21 percent in 1983, and created a new poverty in which 40 percent of all the poor are in intact families. Three-fourths of unemployed male and female blue collar workers now engage in numerically expanding but poorer paying service sector jobs (office workers, computer operators, bookkeepers, fast food and restaurant workers, health care workers, building

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[62]Michelle Russell, "Women, Work, and Politics," Theology in the Americas, eds. Sergio Torres and John Eagleson (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1976), 343. At this point, if not earlier, clerical work became increasingly proletarianized: less skilled, more routine, lower pay, lower prestige, more impersonal relations, less control over one's work, according to Kahn-Hut, Women and Work, 197.

[63]Gil Green, "The False Promises of Stanley Aronwitz," Social Class in the Contemporary U.S., eds. Gerald Erickson and Harold L. Schwartz (Minneapolis: Marxist Educational Press, 1977), 13-18.

[64]Richard Gillett, "The Reshaping of Work: A Challenge to the Churches," Christian Century, 5-12 Jan. 1983: 10-13. Changes since World War II such as the decline of competitive capitalism and rise of monopoly capitalism which encourage mass unemployment and inflation, the technological revolution which is deleting many jobs, and the rise of multi-national corporations are noted also by Gil Green.

custodians), representing a 15 percent pay cut for men, and a 38 percent pay cut for women.[65]   They are underemployed, which is quite different psychologically than being unemployed. As noted by Raines and Day-Lower, "unemployment always seems temporary but underemployment brings home the reality of a permanently changed future."[66]

Second, we are in the midst of a transportation and communications revolution, which has created the technological possibility of multi-national corporations and a global economy. In its earliest stages this revolution meant that the working class often had to move out of the "old neighborhood" away from kin to find work. Its most recent implications are the dissolution of American jobs and use of overseas labor.

Third, increasing automation in plants and offices has displaced workers. Machines and sometimes even robots have begun to do many jobs people formerly did. And finally, work has become increasingly de-skilled and specialized, fragmented and

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[65]Michael Harrington, The New American Poverty (New York: Penguin, 1984), 46. See also John C. Raines and Donna C. Day-Lower, Modern Work and Human Meaning (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986) who interviewed numerous families unemployed by the closing of Bethlehem Steel in Johnstown, Pa. This new poverty of the worker is accompanied by increasing wealth of the wealthiest: the top 1% of the population held 21% of the wealth in 1949, 26% in 1956, 33.3% in 1962, 36.3% in 1970 according to Gus Tyler, "White Worker/Blue Mood," Dissent 19 (Winter 1972): 192.

[66]Raines and Day-Lower, 51.

routinized.[67] The changing character of work has changed the lived material reality of working-class people permanently.

The Myth of Socioeconomic Class Mobility

In American society there has been a pervasive belief in upward mobility, that those who are brightest and work hardest can move out of the class of their origins.[68] The ideology of upward mobility in the system as it is structured, however, is at odds with the ideology of equality, even the belief in equal opportunity.[69] The ruling class ideology is that we are all middle-class and all have an equal chance, so differences must be due to intelligence, talent, culture, creativity, usefulness, or morality. Of course, there is no equal opportunity, because the middle and upper classes have a head start in a race set up for them to win. Hence, while middle-class persons often see themselves as more intelligent than the working class, they are

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[67]In Labor and Monopoly Capital, Braverman argues, as did Marx, the deskilling of the labor process, although this is tru~ not only of blue collar work but is now true of much white collar work as well.

[68]J. R. Snarey and George E. Vaillant, "How Lower- and Working-Class Youth Become Middle-Class Adults: The Association Between Ego Defense Mechanisms and Upward Social Mobility," Child Development 56 (1985): 899-910, admit that upward mobility is difficult, but among those who do accomplish it, the three defense mechanisms of intellectualization, anticipation of and planning for future discomfort, and altruism were important among men in the 40 year longitudinal sample of Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck.

[69]See Robert Kimber, "A Middle-Class Death or the Fear of Equality," Cross Currents 32, no. 1 (1982): 1-11. Also Robert E. Lane, "The Fear of Equality," The White Majority, ed. Louise Kapp Howe (New York: Random House, 1970), 119-144.

simply more privileged and probably have received more formal education. There is, of course, no direct correlation between intelligence and education. And if upward mobility exists at all it is not absolute mobility but only relative to that of others.[70]

For working-class men, the myth of mobility into the middle class has taken the form of getting promoted to supervisor, becoming a small businessman, or moving into a white collar job; if these did not yield the desired results, one's wife could work[71] or reliance on extended family could raise one to middle-class income.[72] For women it has traditionally meant "marrying up," and later moving from factory to office. With the advent of government entitlement programs, women became upwardly mobile through higher paying occupations such as the trades which became open to them for the first time. But even if members of the working class attain higher income, suburban living, home ownership, and numerous consumer goods, it usually has not meant adoption of middle-class life-styles, and even less often has it

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[70]Jerome Karabel, "Protecting the Portals: Class and the Community College," Social Policy 5, no.1 (1974): 13.

[71]Richard Parker, The Myth of the Middle Class: Notes on Affluence and Equality (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 136.

[72]Teresa D. Marciano, "Middle Class Incomes, Working Class Hearts," Family Process 13 (1974): 489-502, studied several Italian-American families in which living with parents or in-laws raised the total household income to middle-class levels, allowing residence in middle-class neighborhoods.

meant assimilation into middle-class society.[73] This is because

the key issue in determining one's class values is not income _per_

_se_ but the relationship of control over one's work,[74] although

the sub-culture identification of working-class people is an

additional influence.[75]

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[73]John H. Goldthorpe, David Lockwood, Frank Bechhofer, and Jennifer Platt, "The Affluent Worker and the Thesis of Embourgeoisement," Sociology 1, no.1 (1967): 11. That skilled workers are more like semi-skilled workers than they are like lower middle-class workers in organizational membership, religious involvement, mass media preferences, politics, attitudes toward education is confirmed in several studies. Richard Hamilton, "The Behaviors and Values of Skilled Workers," Blue Collar World, eds. Arthur Shostak and William Gomberg (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1964), 42-57; Norval D. Glenn and Jon P. Alston, "Cultural Distances Among Occupational Categories," American Sociological Review 33, no.3 (1968): 365-82; Bennett Berger, Working-Class Suburb: A Study of Auto Workers in Suburbia (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 92.   While confirming that income and residence do not change working-class people to middle-class, Marciano, 489, believes that upward mobility is a reality and that conflicts between income and life-style reflect a transitional stage in multi-generational mobility.

[74]Melvin L. Kohn, Class and Conformity: A Study in Values (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977).

[75]Features of this sub-culture identification include the values which result from adaptation to a certain level of income, but also style and condition of labor (kinds of work done, demands of work, structure of authority within work, degree of security of job and income, social definition of the job, possibilities for advancement), geographical and social isolation from the middle and upper classes, likelihood of intra- and inter-generational mobility, limited access to full participation in social institutions, in Garth Massey, "Studying Social Class: The Case of Embourgeoisement and the Culture of Poverty," Social Problems 22, no.5 (1975): 601-602.   Working-class people who move into white collar occupations carry with them their working-class identification and their economic liberalism, according to R. E. Hamilton, "The Marginal Middle Class: A Reconsideration," American Sociological Review 31 (April 1966): 192-99.

The belief in mobility was less pervasive after the Great Depression and after World War II when social critique displayed some vitality, but for the most part the American ideology of individualism and the mythology of upward mobility makes institutionalized inequality hard to see and hard to swallow.[76] Of course, the history and culture of some geographical regions makes social critique and collective action more likely, and more blacks than whites are inclined to believe in the importance of social critique than in the promise of upward mobility. The promise is seductive, however, and if one dreams of middle-class respectability, then class consciousness, social critique, and collective social action are seen as neither attractive or wise.[77]

The function of the myth of upward mobility is to justify and maintain inequalities of income, power, and self-esteem. Therefore, class and status inheritance in the U.S. is fairly

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[76]Pease et al., 129, 131. For the distinction between the American prospective system of stratification (belief in success and the instrumental function of education) and the British retrospective system of stratification (belief in justice and the expressive function of education to establish one's status) see Nicholas J. Demerath III, "Past and Future in Anglo-American Stratification: A Note on Prospective and Retrospective Ideologies," Sociology and Social Research 67 (1983): 367-68.

[77]Victoria Steinitz, Prudence King, Ellen Solomon, and Ellen Shapiro, "Ideological Development in Working-Class Youth," Harvard Educational Review 43, no.3 (1973): 333-361.

stable in the majority of cases.[78] This is for a number of

reasons, including

> restricted access to educational and employment
> opportunities, class-biased career counseling,
> residential segregation by social class, class-biased
> achievement and I.Q. tests, lower teacher expectations
> for lower-class youth, and perhaps most serious of all,
> racial prejudice.[79]

Individualizing failures of upward mobility is accomplished by

individualizing the discrepancy between aspiration and

achievement, according to Michael Lewis.[80] Certainly not

everyone in the working class wants to move into the middle

class, although most are interested in a decent standard of

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[78]John C. Goyder and James E. Curtis, "A Three-Generational Approach to Trends in Occupational Mobility," American Journal of Sociology 81, no.1 (1975): 129. If farm workers are excluded, the stability of class between generations is even stronger. Sennett and Cobb suggest that only 1.8 percent of the children of manual laborers enter the professions, as quoted in Snarey and Vaillant, 899. Those of the working class who enter academia are rare, according to Jake Ryan and Charles Sackrey, Strangers in Paradise: Academics from the Working Class (Boston: South End Press, 1984), 317: "The essays confirm the myth of upward mobility that expands the occasional rags to riches story into a societal tall-tale."

[79]Snarey and Vaillant, 899. The way in which racism operates in vocational school for the garment industry is noted by Sally Hillsman Baker and Bernard Levenson, "Job Opportunities of Black and White Working Class Women," Social Problems 22 (1975): 510-532. The effects of classism and racism to limit mobility are evident in numerous high schools, where socioeconomic class and race have more effect on which track (vocational or college prep) a student pursued, quite apart from achievement levels in junior high school or I.Q. scores, in Walter E. Schafer, Carol Olexa, and Kenneth Polk, "Programmed for Social Class: Teaching in High School," Trans-Action 7, no. 12 (Oct. 1970), 40.

[80]Michael Lewis, The Culture of Inequality (New York: New American Library, 1978), viii.

living and security, and many are interested in respectability.[81]
But by individualizing achievement or failure of mobility, the
working class learns to choose more modest goals. They also
believe they could and should have set them higher, so the
discrepancy between what aspirations are and should have been
continues the cycle of self-blame.[82]

There are also significant connections between this "culture
of inequality," as Lewis calls it, and morality. Economic and
social achievement are understood to be the logical consequence
of will-power and effort, and contribute to the common good.
These are then taken to be proof of moral elevation, the opposite
of personal failure.[83] As Weber suggested, the convergence of
rationality (avoidance of emotionality), hard work (avoidance of
laziness), success (avoidance of failure), and morality
(avoidance of the other side of the tracks) is characteristic of
the capitalist system, and is internalized by individuals who
participate in it.[84] While the working class does not succeed in

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[81]S. M. Miller and Frank Riessman, "The Working Class
Subculture: A New View," Social Problems 9 (Summer 1961): 86-97.

[82]Lewis, The Culture of Inequality, 15. Raines and Day-
Lower, 34, note that the working class not only copes with the
myth of equal opportunity by lowering aspirations, but also by
blaming outside forces and inflating one's achievements by
deflating the achievements of others.

[83]Lewis, The Culture of Inequality, 6.

[84]For working-class women the language of "success" or
"achievement" is preferable to the language of "winning" to which
Tex Sample refers, for the latter carries the connotation of
gamesmanship in which there is always a clear loser. In other
words, women have more trouble with winning (because someone else
always loses) than with succeeding or achieving. See Tex Sample,

the capitalist system in terms of income and prestige, the real damage to self-esteem comes not from failure at a task but at being judged inferior because of the failure. Many working-class persons, therefore, feel a certain pride in their families and in doing "hard, honest work" rather than pushing papers and controlling other persons like middle-class people do.[85] But as Judah Hill reminds us, "nowhere is their culture validated, their opinion solicited, their effort rewarded" for doing so.[86]

Thus, the inherent conflict of a hierarchical class structure, of one group not only being "down" but also being judged inferior for being "down," becomes internalized in individual people. Those in power say success is attributable to individual effort and talent, such that working-class persons judge and blame themselves for failure, and experience the shame so damaging to self-esteem. Sennett and Cobb describe this conflict well:

> The real impact of class is that a man [sic] can play
> out both sides of the power situation in his [sic] own
> life, become alternately judge and judged,
> alternatively individual and member of the mass. This
> represents the internalizing of class conflict, the

A Blue-Collar Ministry: Facing Economic and Social Realities of Working People (Valley Forge: Judson, 1984).

[85]Mary McKenney, "Class Attitudes and Professionalism," Building Feminist Theory: Essays From Quest, eds. Charlotte Bunch et al. (New York: Longman, 1981), 143. See also Karen L. Bloomquist, "Toward a Theological Engagement With Working Class Experience," Word and World 2, no. 3 (1982): 273.

[86]Judah Hill, Class Analysis: U.S. in the 1970's, n.p.: n.d., 39.

process by which the struggle between each man [sic] leads to struggle within each man [sic].[87]

And the same process occurs with working-class women.

The ideology of mobility contributes to the many different characterizations of the working class. Tex Sample, who determines class by occupation, names four types of working-class people: the winners, the respectables, the survivors, and the hard-living.[88] It is not uncommon for respectables to look down on the hard-living for drinking, not saving money, not planning to send the kids to college, not faithfully attending church, and not speaking correctly.[89] Studies which claim that few working-class parents expect or want their children to go to college or to get jobs which require a college education probably refer to working-class survivors or hard-livers.[90] Studies which express the working-class desire for their children's education and the willingness to make great sacrifices for it probably refer to working-class respectables.[91]

Studies of the social mobility of women reveal a number of interesting issues. Among studies that determine a woman's

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[87]Sennett and Cobb, 97-98.

[88]Sample, <u>A Blue-Collar Ministry</u>, 59-93.

[89]Helmboldt, "Pain, Survival, Triumph."

[90]Such as Herbert H. Hyman, "The Value System of Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," <u>Class, Status, and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification</u>, eds. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953).

[91]Sennett and Cobb.

socioeconomic class via the occupation of her father or husband, some show that women are upwardly mobile primarily through marriage rather than their own occupations.[92] This is not surprising since women's occupational careers show lower promotion rates and more interruptions.[93] However, other studies show that in general women are not upwardly mobile through marriage either.[94]

The demographics of women's mobility reveal that upwardly mobile women are more likely to have experienced familial or community rejection and are mobile by means of education (schooling beyond the level of one's parents) and geography (willing to relocate).[95] Yet most poor and working-class women

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[92]A. Tyree and J. Treas, "The Occupational and Marital Mobility of Women," American Sociological Review 39 (1974): 293-302.

[93]Natalie Rogoff Ramsay, "Patterns of Female Intergeneraltional Occupational Mobility: A Comment," American Sociological Review 38 (1973): 806. Joan Jordan, "The Exploitation of Women Workers," The White Majority, ed. Louise Kapp Howe (New York: Random House, 1970), 183, enumerates reasons women don't get promotions: men have to support a family (as if increasing numbers of women do not), women don't make good supervisors (it would damage the male ego to work for a woman), women will become pregnant (the Department of Labor says that no more than 4 percent per year become pregnant), and women have higher turnover and absenteeism (although women usually work under the worst conditions).

[94]Zick Rubin, "Do American Women Marry Up?" American Sociological Review 33 (1968): 750.

[95]Evelyn Ellis, "Social Psychological Correlates of Upward Mobility Among Unmarried Career Women," American Sociological Review 17 (1952): 563. Education does not always lead to better jobs for working-class women but may create increased expectations and increased disappointment, according to Sidel, Urban Survival, 163.

were taught as young girls that a girl's education is a waste since she will only get married and not use it, that boys get first priority in financially hard pressed families, that she has to go to work since the family needs her salary and there are younger children to provide for, and she does not need an education since her husband will take care of her.[96] While middle-class children usually receive strong encouragement to go to college from their parents, working-class children receive comparatively moderate encouragement or outright discouragement toward college.[97] For many, the greater educational disadvantage is being from a working-class family than being female.[98]

The promise of upward mobility through education, however, is complex. The community college has sometimes been seen as an alternative path to advancement, but according to David Reisman it is merely a safety valve to protect the academic and social class composition of four-year colleges, because it is designed

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[96]Terry L. Haywoode, "College for Neighborhood Women: Innovation and Growth," Learning Our Way: Essays in Feminist Education, eds. Charlotte Bunch and Sandra Pollack (Trumansburg, N.Y.: Crossing Press, 1983), 51.

[97]Denise B. Kandel and Gerald S. Lesser, "Parental and Peer Influences on Educational Plans of Adolescents," American Sociological Review 34 (1969): 220. Treiman and Terrell, 178, say that for employed whites the educational level of the like-sexed parent is most important, followed by the education level of the opposite-sexed parent in determining a child's educational level. The educational attainment process is more closely determined by parental education for non-working women than for working women.

[98]P.Y. DeJong, M.J. Brawer, and S.S. Robin, "Patterns of Female Intergenerational Occupational Mobility: A Comparison with Male Patterns of Intergenerational Occupational Mobility," American Sociological Review 36 (1971): 1041.

to steer students into terminal vocational degrees rather than into four-year transfer programs.[99] Of course, those who attend community colleges are primarily the poor and working class!

The path of upward mobility out of the working class through four-year college education is a nearly sure one, though less sure for women. According to Robert Wolff:

> The real function of the Bachelor's degree in our society is certification, all right, but it is class certification, not professional certification. The B.A. stamps a man [sic] as a candidate in good standing for the middle class. It is the great social divider that distinguishes the working class from the middle class.[100]

Problematic, however, is the way one usually either denies the family and community identity from which one came or experiences a split-identity in partial accomodation to both working-class and middle-class identities. Upward mobility also frequently means a brain drain in poor and working-class neighborhoods.[101] A recurring theme in stories of working-class women who choose Catholic religious life, is the desire for an education that their families could not afford which would lead to jobs that were challenging and meaningful.[102] A price they paid was the

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[99]Riessman quoted in Karabel, 14.

[100]Robert Paul Wolff, The Ideal of the University (Boston: Beacon, 1969), 151.

[101]Haywoode, 52.

[102]Rosemary Curb and Nancy Manahan, eds., Lesbian Nuns: Breaking Silence (Naiad Press, 1985), xxvi, xli. Religious life offered Catholic working-class women an alternative to marriage, as well as education and jobs, but also greater self-knowledge, ability to lead and take risks, greater sense of community and belonging, personal power, poise, independence, creativity,

obliteration of their own culture for the middle-class values and
manners of the convent.

Consequences of the ideology of upward mobility by
individual effort, will, and success are particularly damaging to
the majority who do not move up. There is guilt about limited
successes, hatred of failure, shame, and loss of self-esteem.
Tex Sample suggests that people of the working class must either
struggle and adapt, rationalize and compensate, or give up.[103]
These are meager choices.

integration, finesse with authority (p.xxvi).

[103]Sample, 57.

Stereotypes of the Working-Class Woman

Members of the working class have sometimes been portrayed as unable to look ahead to the future, as superstitious and amenable to emotional, sect-type religions.[104] They have been characterized as unable to delay gratification for pursuit of one's conscience, aspirations, or education, and unable to renounce the impulse to engage in physical violence, in free sexual expression, in free spending on consumer goods.[105] They have been characterized as less motivated,[106] less competitive, less formal, less intellectual, less adaptable to change,[107] and less capable of dealing with complexity.[108] They have been characterized as liberal on economic issues but conservative on

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[104]Emile Pin, "Social Classes and Their Religious Approaches," Religion, Culture, and Society, ed. Louis Schneider (New York: Wiley & Sons, 1964), 414-16.

[105]Louis Schneider and Sverre Lysgaard, "The Deferred Gratification Pattern: A Preliminary Study," American Sociological Review 18, no. 2 (1953): 142-49. This study refers to "the lower classes" which does not make distinctions between the poor and the working class.

[106]Baker and Levenson, 511, note that though often critiqued for lacking motivation, working-class youth who completed vocational school in their study did not display such deficits.

[107]Don Browning, "Religion, Revelation, and the Strengths of the Poor," Pastoral Psychology 19 (1968): 39-40. Lack of adaptability is also the issue in the 1972 Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll which claimed that blue collar women like demonstrating, picketing, marching the least of all women. The 1974 Poll claimed that white working-class women were still the most resistant to change.

[108]Sample, 16.

race relations and international relations.[109] Working-class

homes have been described as authoritarian by more than one

researcher.[110] Of course, some of these things are true of some

working-class people, but as judgements on individuals rather

than systemic dilemmas requiring adaptive coping and survival

skills, they become stereotypes.

Working-class women have often been portrayed as

conservative and traditional, including their agreement with sex-

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[109]Arthur Kornhauser, "Mental Health of Factory Workers," Human Organization 21, no.1 (Spring 1962): 43-46. This is confirmed by Melvin Kohn, Class and Conformity, 201.

[110]Kohn, Class and Conformity, 207, has suggested that the authoritarianism in working-class homes is due to their subservient, tightly supervised work positions. Lewis Lipsitz, "Working Class Authoritarianism: A Reevaluation," American Sociological Review 30, no.1 (1965): 104, observes that at one time authoritarianism was seen as a middle-class characteristic in its support for fascism and strict child-rearing as evidenced in R. Nevitt Sanford, The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Harper, 1950) and in Erich Fromm, Escape From Freedom (New York: Reinhart, 1941). Then the working class came to be seen as less tolerant than the middle class in Seymour M. Lipset, Political Man (Garden City: Doubleday, 1960), 101, and Seymour Lipset, "Democracy and Working Class Authoritarianism," American Sociological Review 24 (1959): 485.
T.W. Adorno summarizes the authoritarian personality as one who represses feelings of weakness and holds weakness in others with contempt or lack of feeling, feels everyone is out for self and that no one basically cares for others, rejects tenderness and sympathy as weak and stupid, interprets all relationships in terms of power struggle (dominance and submission) and finds cooperation alien, distrusts and avoids obligation and attachment to others, is unwilling to accept responsibility for own acts, avoids taking initiative, and has unconscious dependency needs where s/he relies on those above him yet hates it. See The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Harper Bros., 1950) summarized in Wayne Oates, Pastoral Counseling in Social Problems (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), 41-42.

role divisions and circumscribed sexual behavior,[111] their

willingness to accept men's authority, reluctance to work outside

the home, and their preparedness to sacrifice self for family.[112]

A not uncommon media stereotype is that "she wears tacky clothes,

likes plastic flowers, reads True Confessions . . . and has an

I.Q. of 47."[113] Employment stereotypes for these women include

inconsistancy of work patterns, desire for sociable, non-

challenging work settings, and the ability to do boring, routine

work.[114]   According to these stereotypes, "she can't be working-

class if she went to college, seems intelligent, cares about

larger issues, has good table manners, or likes the arts."[115]

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[111]This stereotype may be found in Mirra Komarovsky, Blue
Collar Marriage (New York: Random House, 1962), and Lee Rainwater,
Richard Coleman, and Gerald Kandel, Workingman's Wife: Her
Personality, World and Life Style (New York: McFadden Bartell,
1959). It is confirmed in Marciano. A scathing critique of the
stereotype of traditional sex roles in the working class, may be
found in McKenney, 145: "The idea that working-class men are more
sexist than middle-class men is based on the truism that the more
money and/or power you have, the less obvious and crude you have
to be to fuck over women."

[112]Myra Marx Ferree, "Family and Job for Working Class
Women: Gender and Class Systems Seen From Below," Families and
Work, eds. Naomi Gerstel and Harriet Engel Gross (Philadelphia:
Temple University Press, 1987), 289.

[113]Nancy Seifer, "Barbara Mikulski and the Blue Collar
Woman," Ms. Magazine, Nov. 1973: 70-74, 108.

[114]Mary L. Walshok, Blue Collar Women (Garden City: Anchor
Books, 1981), 139. The claim that on-the-job social relations
are more important among working-class women than men may be
found in Frederick C. Deyo, "Single Female Factory Worker and Her
Peer Group," Human Organization 39 (1980): 80.

[115]McKenney, 147.

An interesting recent study of race and class stereotypes among undergraduate students (N=44) revealed that the stereotypes of "dependent, passive, and emotional" were higher for white women than black women. Stereotypes of "confused, dirty, hostile, inconsiderate, and irresponsible" were higher for lower-class women than middle-class women. And stereotypes of black middle-class women were more positive than for lower-class white women.[116] In sum, the common image of (especially white) poor and working-class women is fairly negative.

The difficulty with stereotypes is that they represent the conclusions of the dominant group or the internalization of dominant group standards by oppressed groups. As Manhattan garment workers, Jacob and Sophie, have said so succinctly, "Always the people who rob you want to judge you, too."[117] Hopefully this study is part of understanding working-class life in the context of the oppression of capitalism, revealing its problems but also the great personal and collective strength in working-class women[118] and much in the way of non-traditional

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[116]Hope Landrine, "Race, Class Stereotypes of Women," Sex Roles 13 (1985): 65-66.

[117]Leonard Kriegel, "Silent in the Supermarket," The World of the Blue-Collar Worker, ed. Irving Howe (New York: Quadrangle, 1972), 67.

[118]The pain and the strengths respectively may be found in Lillian Rubin, Worlds of Pain, and Nancy Seifer, Nobody Speaks For Me! Self-Portraits of American Working Class Women (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1976).

attitudes and behavior to be utilized toward personal and

systemic change.[119]

Variables Determining Class Among Working-Class Women

Much of the literature on the working class uses men as its

subject,[120] and if women are studied, it is often in the context

of family studies where they do unpaid work.[121] Governmental

studies of the public nature of women's work (type of work,

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[119]Louise Kapp Howe, Pink-Collar Workers:Inside the World of Women's Work, (New York: Putnam, 1977); Kathleen McCourt, Working-Class Women and Grassroots Politics (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977); J. Tepperman, Not Servants, Not Machines (1970; reprint, Boston: Beacon, 1976).

[120]Examples include: Irving Howe, ed., The World of the Blue Collar Worker (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1972); Patricia Cayo Sexton and Brendan Sexton, Blue Collars and Hard Hats: The Working Class and the Future of American Politics (New York: Random House, Vintage, 1972); Levison; Lynd and Lynd; Sennett and Cobb.

[121]In Blue-Collar Marriage Komarovsky devotes one chapter to the employed working-class wife. Ann Oakley, Women's Work: Housewife, Past and Present (New York: Pantheon, 1974). Lillian Rubin in Worlds of Pain studied 50 intact white families in San Francisco where all wives were under age 40, and all families had at least one child under age 12. Since the 1940s composites of the working-class family may be found in: Berger, Working Class Suburb; Herbert Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York: Free Press, 1962); Louise Kapp Howe, The White Majority; Joseph Howell, Hard Living on Clay Street: Portraits of Blue Collar Families (New York: Doubleday, 1973); Nancy Seifer, Absent from the Majority: Working Class Women in America (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1973), and Nobody Speaks for Me; Arthur Shostak, Blue Collar Life (New York: Random House, 1969); Sennett and Cobb, Hidden Injuries of Class; Sexton and Sexton, Blue Collars and Hard Hats; and Studs Terkel, Working (New York: Avon, 1974). There are hints that employed women are not studied because paid work is seen as less meaningful to women than men, but mostly because women's work is still seen as supplemental rather than essential to family survival.

income, union membership) have been done.[122] But only a few

studies focus on the interface of public and private lives of

working-class women who do paid work.[123] In the maze of

literature, however, are some indications about the ways one's

situation at work and at home determine socioeconomic class and

influence the personality and values of the working-class woman.

As Susan Kennedy suggests,

> all of us identify our self-interest in personal and
> family terms. In short, all of us have complex loyalties,
> but most Americans identify with some group (or groups)
> larger than family and smaller than nation, groups defined
> by section, class, race, sex, or ideology. It is that
> identification which shapes our most immediate value
> judgments.[124]

Socioeconomic class is determined by one's relation to

production and reproduction, the latter including not only

biological reproduction but also the reproduction of class

relations through child rearing and home maintenance, and the

reproduction of social relations through socialization and value

transmission. Key variables in this interactive configuration,

therefore, are the nature and permanency of employment, high or

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[122]For example, Alice Cook, _The Working Mother_ (Ithaca:
School of Labor and Industrial Relations, Cornell University,
1975).

[123]Howe, _Pink Collar Workers_; Susan Estabrook Kennedy, _If
All We Did Was To Weep at Home: A History of White Working Class
Women in America_ (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979);
Joyce A. Ladner, _Tomorrow's Tomorrow: The Black Woman_ (Garden
City: Doubleday, 1972); Seifer, _Nobody Speaks for Me_;
Tepperman, _Not Servants, Not Machines_; Walshok, _Blue-Collar
Women_; and Barbara M. Wertheimer, _We Were There: The Story of
Working Women in America_ (New York: Pantheon, 1977).

[124]Kennedy, ix-x.

low fertility, and marriage.[125] Class determination is complex

among women because of the many ways these variables interact.

Eight possible combinations of the variables are suggested:

High employment	+	High fertility	+	Married
High employment	+	High fertility	+	Unmarried
High employment	+	Low fertility	+	Married
High employment	+	Low fertility	+	Unmarried
Low employment	+	High fertility	+	Married
Low employment	+	High fertility	+	Unmarried
Low employment	+	Low fertility	+	Married
Low employment	+	Low fertility	+	Unmarried

These eight configurations will not be examined separately, but

the three variables will be analyzed in turn to understand more

clearly the shaping of class, personality, and values among

working-class women.

The Variable of Employment

Among black women Angela Davis points out that slaves were

first of all workers and only incidentally wives-mothers-

homemakers.[126] From 1950 to 1985 studies of American working-

class women showed high levels of actual employment and much

interest in working for pay among women who were at home full

time.[127] Even working-class young women in college expected to

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[125]In "Reproduction and Class Divisions Among Women"
Rosalind Petchesky helpfully suggests the interaction of
employment and fertility as primary determinants of class for
women. Yet, marriage also clearly affects women's socioeconomic
class, at this point to a greater degree than it does for men,
because many women are only a "divorce away from poverty."

[126]Angela Y. Davis, 5.

[127]Myra Marx Ferree, "Family and Job for Working Class
Women: Gender and Class Systems Seen From Below," 291. She cites
studies by Hannah Gavron, The Captive Wife: Conflicts of
Housebound Mothers (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966);
Bennett Berger, Working Class Suburb; Myra Marx Ferree, "Working

work.[128]   Between 1970 and 1982 American women gained most new

jobs in the clerical fields, and since many of these women were

married to working-class men, there was an increase in working-

class dual earner families.[129]   What was new was not that women

began working, but that so many white mothers began working,[130]

although working mothers were not at all new to the American

black community. Work brought a sense of contributing to the

family economy, but also a sense of accomplishment, a link to

wider society, and new relationships. Even older women for whom

the necessity of working for family survival had passed, usually

wanted to continue working, although they became interested in

work that allowed them to slow down and be more comfortable.[131]

Class Jobs: Paid Work and Housework as Sources of Satisfaction,"
Social Problems 23 (1976): 431-41; Komarovsky, Blue-Collar
Marriage; and Ellen Rosen, Bitter Choices: Blue Collar Women In
and Out of Work (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).
    Women's full-time employment has remained about 30 percent
since 1951, but women's part-time work has increased by 4 times,
with 90 percent of these being married women, according to Susan
McCrae, Cross Class Families: A Study of Wives' Occupational
Superiority (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 3.

[128]Gilda Epstein and Arline Bronzaft, "Female Freshmen View
Their Roles as Women," Journal of Marriage and Family 34 (1972):
671-72, studied 1000 working-class first-year college students,
3/4 of whom fully expected to be working in 15 years.

[129]Harold Benenson, "Women's Occupational and Family
Achievement in the U.S. Class System: A Critique of the Dual-
Career Family Analysis," British Journal of Sociology 35 (1984):
30.

[130]Weiner, From Working Girl to Working Mother, vii,
considers 1820-1920 the era of the working girl and 1920-1980 the
era of the working mother.

[131]Rosen, 89.

Even women who disliked their paid jobs did not necessarily prefer housework.

Satisfaction with one's work is highly dependent on the nature of the work, job conditions (pace, noise, work load), skills required, and the network of relations involved. A full 80-90 percent of professionals would choose the same kind of work if beginning their work-life again, but only 30-50 percent of skilled working-class and 15-20 percent of unskilled working-class people would "choose" the same work.[132] While middle-class women see work in social-psychological terms, as a source of meaning in life, working-class women see work in economic terms.[133] The intrinsic qualities of work are most important to middle-class women -- how interesting work is, the amount of freedom allowed, the chance to help others, the chance to use one's abilities. The extrinsic qualities of work are most important to working-class women -- the pay, fringe benefits, one's supervisor and co-workers, the hours one works, how tiring work is, degree of job security, degree of pressure on the job.[134] This is no psychological or moral failure on the part of

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[132]Robert Blauner, "Work Satisfaction and Industrial Trends in Modern Society," Labor and Trade Unionism, eds. Walter Galenson and S. M. Lipset (New York: Wiley & Sons, 1960), 339-60.

[133]Kennedy, xi. The distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic rewards for work is a false one because economic rewards are very meaningful, according to Rosen, 90.

[134]Melvin L. Kohn and Carmi Schooler, "Class, Occupation, and Orientation," American Sociological Review 34 (1969): 666. Among working-class women who are craftworkers and clerks, pay and work conditions are more important than congenial co-workers. But a sizable minority of craftworkers are dissatisfied due to

working-class women, but is the result of uninteresting work which allows little freedom, opportunity to help others, or use of one's abilities. A recent study indicated that low-level (assembly-line) clerical work is some of the least satisfying work among women in the 1980s.[135]

Work satisfaction is also influenced by job conditions. Women in the working class encounter a number of physical challenges in employment, such as bells ringing and the constant roar of loud machinery. Some are exposed to extreme heat or cold and still others suffer physical injury from constant standing (retail clerks), lifting (packing), or eye strain (computer terminals). Hypertension has been found to be inversely related to income.[136] Exhaustion is the norm among employed working-class women. And some are exposed to health risks from accidents

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male harrassment according to Brigid O'Farrell and Sharon Harlan, "Craftworkers and Clerks: The Effect of Male Co-Worker Hostility on Women's Satisfaction with Non-Traditional Jobs," Social Problems 29 (1982): 252-65. Similar findings about male harrassment can be found in Jean Reith Schroedel, Alone in a Crowd: Women in the Trades Tell Their Stories (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985), xiv, and Pamela Roby, "Sociology and Women in Working Class Jobs," Another Voice: Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science, eds. Marcia Millman and Rosabeth Moss Kanter (New York: Anchor, 1975), 217-218. Walshok, Blue Collar Women, 260, says that harrassment of women in non-traditional occupations exists, but is less of a problem for those who establish relationships with men on some other basis than being a woman, and that blue collar men are less persistent in their harassment than white collar and professional men!

[135]Myra Marx Ferree, "Between Two Worlds: German Feminist Approaches to Working Class Women and Work," Signs 10 (1985): 529.

[136]Peter Conrad and Rochelle Kern, eds., The Sociology of Health and Illness (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), 109.

or to chemicals, radiation, and other hazards. Working conditions actually increase working-class mortality, with 20-40 percent of cancer deaths due to on-the-job exposure.[137] The poor and working class are less likely to visit a doctor or dentist, engage in preventative health care, and are more likely to consider aches and pains normal and yet to be hospitalized for serious illnesses.[138]

Work is also more satisfying for women whose children are at least school age, in less need of supervision, and old enough to help with the domestic role. It is more satisfying for women who perceive the greatest rewards from employment, rewards such as satisfaction with job duties, advancement, performance, importance, pay, and benefits. Relatively greater rewards accrue to those in higher paying working-class jobs (e.g., union jobs) and in middle-class occupations, of course.[139]

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[137]Daniel Berman, Death on the Job (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1978), 46.

[138]Szymanski, 309-10.

[139]P.C. McKenry, "Family and Job Influences on Role Satisfaction of Employed Rural Mothers," Psychology of Women Quarterly 9 (1985): 249, studied 150 rural women in Ohio employed outside the home with a mean age of 40, half of whom worked full-time. While 95% were designated as middle class, nearly 23% had working-class occupations, 53% claimed to work out of economic necessity, and nearly 80% worried about the family income some or all of the time. That there is less role strain for married women who have higher paying jobs is true in the working class for women with union jobs, see Rosen, 108, and for women in the trades, see Schroedel, xiv. It is also true for women in the middle class, see Grace Baruch, Rosalind Barnett, and Caryl Rivers, Life Prints: New Patterns of Love and Work for Today's Women (New York: McGraw Hill, 1983).

Most working-class women are in sex-segregated occupations, with 63 percent of all service workers being women (maids, waitresses, beauticians, etc.) and 71 percent of all clerical and sales workers being women.[140]   Most co-workers are also women,[141] and segregation invariably means subordination in pay, benefits, status, and control.[142]   Because of these employment limitations, some women prefer to work only part-time.

In the mid-1970s many working-class women were more satisfied with part-time employment than with either full-time housework or full-time employment, because full-time employment was often seen as a cause of greater role strain and family dissension.[143]   In some cases part-time work may not be

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[140]U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports: A Statistical Portrait of Women in the U.S., 1978, Series P-23, no. 100 (Washington: GPO, 1980), 63-64.

[141]Francine D. Blau and Wallace Hendricks, "Occupational Segregation by Sex: Trends and Prospects," Journal of Human Resources 14 (1979): 197-210, suggest that to eliminate the over-representation of women in some occupations and underrepresentation in others, over 3/5 of the female labor force would have to be reallocated among the occupations.   No overall change in sex segregation of employment between 1900 and 1960, and greater sex segregation than racial segregation in occupations is suggested by Edward Gross, "Plus Ca Change...? The Sexual Structure of Occupations Over Time," Social Problems 16, no. 2 (Fall 1968): 198, 202.

[142]Rosalind Petchesky, "Workers, Reproductive Hazards, and the Politics of Protection," Feminist Studies 5 (1979): 236.

[143]Ferree, "Working Class Jobs," 435-36, interviewed 135 white, urban, Catholic working-class women in Eastern Massachusetts and found that more part-time workers answered positively to "Would you work if you didn't need the money?" and to "Do you dream of someday owning your own business?" and fewer part-time workers answered positively to "I am not satisfied with my life" and to "I want my daughter to be primarily different from me" than either housewives or full-time workers.

financially preferred, but it may be all that is available to this "reserve" labor force of women and ethnics at low pay and no benefits. Working-class women's in-home employment, e.g. baby-sitting, ironing, or selling Tupperware, is also an attempt to solve the dual problems of family economic limitations and domestic labor needs.[144] Low pay and no benefits apply here as well, however.

Research shows contradictory conclusions on the degree of satisfaction housework brings. Howe finds that 71 percent of all women find satisfaction in doing housework.[145] This experience is concretized by Marie Casella in the following way:

> To be perfectly honest, women's liberation was not important. I don't appreciate some middle-class woman telling me to get out of the kitchen who didn't know if there was kitchen there, and didn't know if the struggles of her home related to the struggles of my home. . . . I happen to like my kitchen.[146]

Some studies show that working-class women who are full-time homemakers are often more dissatisfied with _life_ and feel themselves to be worse off than women with jobs. But this is more true for those who once had paid employment and now do housework full-time than for those who never had paid employment.[147] And it is also more true for those for whom there

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[144]Elayne Rapping, "Tupperware and Women," Radical America 14, no. 6 (1980): 39-49.

[145]Louis Kapp Howe, Pink Collar Workers, 216.

[146]Quoted in Bev Fisher, "Race and Class: Beyond Personal Politics," Quest: A Feminist Quarterly 3, no. 4 (1977): 5.

[147]Myra Marx Ferree, "Class, Housework, and Happiness: Women's Work and Life Satisfaction," Sex Roles 11 (1984): 1057-74.

is a discrepancy between the work and family values they must live out than for those who are able to do what they prefer in the arena of work and family.[148] Because of the isolation, housework could also bring greater dissatisfaction to working-class women who have moved to the suburbs away from the network of kin in the old neighborhood.[149] Housework may not be menial or degrading, but it also generally does not lead to a sense of competence, social connectedness, or self-determination equal to that produced by paid employment.[150] Even arduous housework does not help some homemakers to feel they are really at work, perhaps because only paid work is valued in a capitalist economy.[151] The experience of powerlessness in doing housework, when money is power, is also common.[152]

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[148]C. A. Faver, "Life Satisfaction and the Life-Cycle: The Effects of Values and Roles on Women's Well-Being," Sociology and Social Research 66 (1982): 435.

[149]Irving Tallman, "Working Class Wives in Suburbia: Fulfillment or Crisis?" Journal of Marriage and the Family 31 (1969): 65.

[150]Ferree, "Working-Class Jobs," 431. Working was found to be protection or distraction from depression among lower socioeconomic status women who worked out of necessity in E. Mostow and P. Newberry, "Work Role and Depression in Women: A Comparison of Workers and Housewives in Treatment," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 45 (1975): 538-48.

[151]A great debate in the women's movement is on the nature of housework. Some see it as the most arduous, isolating, repetitive work there is. See Jordan, 181, and Ann Oakley, The Sociology of Housework (New York: Pantheon, 1974), 53. Others see it as self-managed, flexible, and a relief from routinized, alienating paid employment. See Louise Kapp Howe, Pink-Collar Workers, 216-219.

[152]Sennett and Cobb, 125.

The issue of pay for housework is a complex one. It is an illusion that housework is entirely private work, because it benefits employers and the public domain. Women receive in-kind support to care for the home and children of male workers, thereby freeing employers and the public domain from paying the man enough to hire the accomplishing of these tasks. For this reason, pay from public funds for housework is advocated by some.[153] A 1973 estimate of the monetary value of full-time homemaking was $8285 per year, which if paid by the government would have raised the GNP by 35 percent.[154] Many women, however, do not want to be paid for housework for that would limit the sense of intimacy, autonomy, control, and relief from paid work that housework provides.[155] State-sponsored child-care raises similar issues, for it puts mothers out of control.

Older women who do not have paid employment and no longer have young children match the profile of those who enter community activism and organizing.[156] They have the time to devote to it and see their purpose as enhancing the living situation of family and neighborhood.

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[153]Mariarosa Dalla Costa, "The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community," Radical America 6 (1972): 67-102.

[154]Seifer, Absent From the Majority, 34.

[155]Ferree, "Between Two Worlds," 526. Working-class women's commitment to family because it is where they find warmth, affection, autonomy, and being valued is confirmed by Sallie Westwood, All Day, Every Day: Factory and Family in the Making of Women's Lives (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 236.

[156]McCourt, 20.

Many working-class women, especially service and clerical workers, do not experience their work and workplace to be central life interests, although work may be economically necessary. Work is not a primary group as are family and community,[157] although work does meet some social and psychological needs as well as economic needs. Women reveal some of the same characteristics as others who are disadvantaged in a hierarchical system in terms of power to influence those higher in the ranks and opportunity for advancement: they often reveal limited aspirations, controlling leadership styles, and concern with co-worker friendships.[158] Work-related friendships are more important as women move beyond their child-bearing years, with some of these friends becoming like kin in certain ethnic groups.[159]

The belief that the structure of work shapes personality is not new. Karl Marx suggested that those similarly located in the social structure share beliefs and values because they experience similar material conditions of life. Sociologist Melvin Kohn shares this belief and claims cross-cultural validity for his

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[157]Robert Dubin, "Industrial Worker's World: A Study of the Central Life Interests of Industrial Workers," Social Problems 3 (1956): 131.

[158]Rosabeth Moss Kanter, "The Impact of Hierarchical Structures on the Work Behavior of Women and Men," Social Problems 23 (April, 1976): 415.

[159]Patricia Zavella, "'Abnormal Intimacy': The Varying Work Networks of Chicana Cannery Workers," Feminist Studies 11, no. 3 (1985): 553.

theory,[160] although he does not specifically connect the structure of work to capitalist class relations and the damage to self-esteem among those in subordinate positions.[161]

Kohn's claim is that the structure of work (the complexity of work, closeness of supervision, pressures) as well as the content of work (whether one works with ideas, symbols, people, or things) affect personality and values. The complexity of work is the degree to which thought, independent judgement, and interpretation are required or not.[162] The complexity of the

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[160]Cross-cultural findings are discussed in Leonard Pearlin and Melvin Kohn, "Social Class, Occupation, and Parental Values: A Cross-National Study," American Sociological Review 31 (1966): 466-479. Religion and ethnicity do create variations within a class but they do not change the basic differences between classes, according to Melvin Kohn, "Social Class and Parent-Child Relationships," American Journal of Sociology 68 (1963): 472. The cross-cultural applicability of Kohn's theory is confirmed by Alex Inkeles, "Industrial Man: the Relation of Status to Experience, Perception, and Value," American Journal of Sociology 66 (1960): 20-21, as well as by John W. Meyer, "Myths of Socialization and of Personality," Reconstructing Individualism: Autonomy, Individuality and the Self in Western Thought, eds. Thomas C. Heller, Morton Sosna, and David Wellbery (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), 218.

[161]Melvin L. Kohn and Carmi Schooler, "Occupational Experience and Psychological Functioning: An Assessment of Reciprocal Effects," American Sociological Review 38 (1973): 116. The subjects of this study are men.

[162]Melvin L. Kohn, "Job Complexity and Adult Personality," Themes of Work and Love in Adulthood, eds. Neil J. Smelser and Erik H. Erikson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 193, 197f. See also Kohn and Schooler, "Occupational Experience and Psychological Functioning." Kohn's summary of greater to lesser complexity of work with things, data, and people is found in Class and Conformity, 272-75:
--Complexity of work with things: setting up > precision-working > operating-controlling > driving-operating > manipulating > tending > feeding-offbearing > handling.
--Complexity of work with data: synthesizing > coordinating > analyzing > compiling > computing > copying > comparing > reading

organization of work is the degree to which variety and

stimulation or standardization and boredom are characteristic.[163]

Closeness of supervision, which is more characteristic of

working-class employment (except in the trades), usually means

that obedience or conformity to external standards of

orderliness, neatness, and timeliness is valued, that change and

innovation are discouraged. This creates anxiety, lack of self-

confidence, distrust, and a rigid social orientation.[164] It also

creates a morality which is keyed to the letter of the law, since

this is what the structure of work rewards. The pressures of

working-class employment, including ever increasing production

rates, wages for piece work, seasonal employment, split shifts,

physical exhaustion, mental boredom, and the anonymity of non-

recognition result in the common working-class complaint of

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instructions.
--Complexity of work with people: mentoring > negotiating >
instructing > supervising > diverting-persuading > speaking-
signaling > serving.

[163]R. S. Moore, "The Class Patterning of Work Orientation,"
Social Science Journal 22, no. 2 (1985): 61-76, confirms that
class patterns of occupations are attributable to the autonomy
and variety inherent in the work role.

[164]Kohn and Schooler, "Class, Occupation, and Orientation,"
671. Also Joanne Miller, Carmi Schooler, Melvin Kohn, and Karen
A. Miller, "Women and Work: The Psychological Effects of
Occupational Conditions," American Journal of Sociology 85
(1979): 66-94. Living by the time clock means that there is a
time and place for conversation, and if this is the meaning of
"rigid social orientation" then working-class persons are created
by the structure of their jobs. However, working-class persons
are often very open to enlarging their extended family, finding
solidarity with their neighbors. In this sense they are no more
rigid than middle-class and upper-class persons, who have turf to
protect and are either less honest or more tactful in the
negotiation of their social acquaintances.

"nerves," although the worst pressure may be not that the job is too big, but that the job is too small.[165]

According to Kohn the cumulative effects of both less education and of occupational position create a personality oriented to conformity to external authority in order to attain working-class survival or respectability rather than to autonomy or self-direction in order to attain middle-class security and prestige.[166] The goals of survival and respectability encourage behavior of "not violating proscriptions", while the goals of autonomy and security encourage behavior motivated by principles, according to Kohn.[167] It is no accident that high schools encourage obedience, junior colleges encourage a little more autonomy, and four-year colleges and graduate schools encourage most autonomy of all. Jobs which require a high school education often require similar levels of obedience and conformity, and jobs which require graduate education usually require an

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[165]"Most of us are looking for a calling, not a job. Most of us, like the assembly line worker, have jobs that are too small for our spirit. Jobs are not big enough for people," says Nora Watson, an editor interviewed in Terkel, Working, xxiv.

[166]Kohn and Schooler, "Class, Occupation, and Orientation," 659, believe that education itself creates intellectual flexibility and breadth of perspective which facilitates self-direction. I am less idealistic about the results of education. It is, however, an admission ticket into middle-class work, which often allows and encourages varying degrees of self-direction as long as profit is maximized.

[167]Melvin Kohn, "Social Class and the Exercise of Parental Authority," Personality and Social Systems, eds. Neil J. Smelser and William T. Smelser (New York: Wiley, 1963), 312.

equivalent degree of self-direction or autonomy.[168] Of course, neither education nor full-time work is a guarantee against working-class status or poverty in the case of women.

There are some working-class women who find their work to be central to their identities and who have broken the barrier of sex-segregated jobs and low income. Some are low-income self-employed such as bar-owner Helen Berklich.[169] Others are blue-collar women in unionized trades (as opposed to those in pink-collar service occupations and white collar clerical occupations in the working class), who feel that they have to work to support themselves because they are single, single parents, divorced, widowed, or wives of working-class men with seasonal or insecure jobs.[170] By some estimates they comprise only 2 percent of all working women, but they are nonetheless an important group.[171]

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[168]Samuel Bowles, "Getting Nowhere: Programmed Class Stagnation," Society 9, no. 8 (1972): 45.

[169]A woman interviewed in Buss, 73.

[170]Walshok, 38, interviewed 87 blue collar women of whom 49% never married, 26% were separated or divorced, and 25% were married. These women as a group are much more likely than traditional women to be heads of household. It is also interesting that a number of these women had come out as lesbian, and according to Baxandall it is a middle-class privilege to be "out of the closet" on the job, which lends credence to self-employed artisans being considered middle-class. See Roslyn Baxandall, Linda Gordon, and Susan Reverby, America's Working Women: A Documentary History, 1660 to the Present (New York: Vintage, 1976), 382.

[171]This figure comes from Elaine Zimmerman, "Women's Economic Agenda Project," National Women's Studies Association, College Park, Md., June 1985.

They are ambitious, motivated, concerned about their pay.[172]
They value physicality and solitary tasks rather than seeking
comfortable sociable work environments, and find work satisfying
rather than boring. They seek and find autonomy and control of
the work process rather than direction and supervision.[173]

As adults these women discovered and clarified their
interests, capacities, and work role identity through several
jobs and on-the-job-training opportunities. Experience
stabilized their commitment. When asked an open-ended question
about work they preferred, they did not mention work that serves
others, is easily combined with family, has convenient hours and
limited demands on one's time, energy, or attention. They did
prefer work that offered varied, challenging tasks, good pay,
security, and opportunity for mobility. These non-traditional
women assess problems and opportunities realistically, are more
task-oriented than interpersonally oriented, have mastered
strategies for controlling their environment, seek out co-workers
to teach them the rules of the game, receive support for taking
risks, and respect the needs and competencies of the men with
whom they work. Success is not a matter of networking and
learning the rules of the "boys" game as it is for many middle-
class women, but is a matter of establishing genuine common

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[172]Molly Martin, ed., Hard-Hatted Women: Stories of Struggle
and Success in the Trades (Seattle: Seal Press, 1988), also notes
that women entered the trades for the pay, though some were
following in their father's footsteps.

[173]Walshok, xvii.

interests with co-workers in the work, common concerns with competency and productivity, and sympathy with the work culture. They see themselves as "outsiders" who must prove themselves to be trustworthy and competent, which demands risk-taking and perserverence.[174] Because of the structure of their work relations and their autonomy they are middle-class, although they may be manual laborers with little education or minimal pay and have the status of working-class.

The Variable of Fertility

Regardless of employment status, few women question whether child care and housework are their job.[175] The combination of paid employment and domestic labor means overload and exhaustion, as well as the stress of moving back and forth between the two.[176] Working-class husbands often report that a good wife is "one who keeps the kids under control when he comes home from work and runs the household well."[177] But work has a more positive effect on women who have help with child care (from

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[174]Walshok, 41, 115, 150-55, 197, 258-61.

[175]Jean Tepperman, "Two Jobs: Women Who Work in Factories," Sisterhood is Powerful, ed. Robin Morgan (New York: Random House, 1970), 121.

[176]Ferree, "Family and Job for Working Class Women," 295-96. W. R. Gove and J. F. Tudor, "Adult Sex Roles and Mental Illness," American Journal of Sociology 78 (1973): 816, have also said that combining work and family roles is a source of psychological distress for women.

[177]Rapp, 287.

spouse or relatives) and with housework (from spouse or children).[178]

The larger the percentage of family income a woman contributes, the more likely the husband is to do housework and child care.[179] More than one study has noted that traditional sex-role ideology may be more common in the working class than in the middle class, but that behavior is more egalitarian.[180] In

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[178]Rosen, 104, notes the not infrequent working-class understanding of reciprocity, wherein she "helps" with extra income (she often does not make as much as he does due to occupational discrimination) and he "helps" with child care, especially if she works the 2nd or 3rd shift. Gender identity had little to do with the kinds of dual-role conflicts that emerged between home and work for lesbian working-class women according to Sandra Shachar and Lucia A. Gilbert, "Working Lesbians: Role Conflicts and Coping Strategies," Psychology of Women Quarterly 7 (1983): 244.

[179]Ferree, "Family and Job for Working Class Women," 290. Ferree also claims that relative economic equality is a better predictor of shared housework and child care than sex role attitudes or social class per se and that shared home responsibilies predicts mental health benefits of employment better than age, education, or income in "The View From Below: Women's Employment and Gender Equality in Working Class Families," Marriage and Family Review 7, nos. 3-4 (1984): 62. The increase in husbands' decisions about routine household matters and participation in household tasks when wives are employed is confirmed by Lois W. Hoffman, "Effects of the Employment of Mothers on Parental Power Relations and the Division of Household Tasks," Marriage and Family Living 22 (1960): 35, and C.E. Ross et al., "Dividing Work, Sharing Work, and In-Between: Marriage Patterns and Depression," American Sociological Review 48 (1983): 818. Johnetta Cole claims that even when women work, they do as much as 70% of the housework with husband and children each doing only about 15% each, in Johnetta Cole, 8.

[180]Several studies make this observation: Rubin, Worlds of Pain, 96. Also Ferree, "The View From Below," 60, 69. Also Edith Hoshino Altback, Women in America (Lexington, Ma.: Heath, 1974), 14. This was also found to be true among black working-class couples in Sandra DeJarnett and Bertram Raven, "The Balance, Bases and Modes of Interpersonal Power in Black Couples:

other words, working-class men are more likely to _say_ they would never do "women's work" yet actually _do_ more of the housework and child care than middle-class men who _say_ they are liberated but _do_ far less domestic labor. This tends to be even more the case in Black[181] and homosexual working-class relationships.[182]

Like the employed married woman, the employed unmarried woman often needs help with housework and child care. Sometimes this labor comes from older children, but also may come from the pooling of kin resources.[183] Instrumental relations with kin and ethnic voluntary associations are not uncommon in the working class with the sharing of housing, food, babysitting, tools, supplies, assistance during illness or death, and the giving of short-term loans.[184]

The Role of Sex and Socioeconomic Circumstances," _Journal of Black Psychology_ 7, no.1 (1981): 61. Mexican-American working class women report greater benefits from work when it accords with their sex-role orientation but also when they get help with housework, in Neal Krause and Kyriakos S. Markides, "Employment and Psychological Well-Being in Mexican American Women," _Journal of Health and Social Behavior_ 26, no.1 (1985): 23.

[181]Harriet McAdoo, "Stress and Support Networks of Single Black Mothers," _Black Working Women_, ed. E. Matthews (Berkeley: Center for the Study, Education, Advancement of Women at University of California, 1983).

[182]Philip Blumstein and Pepper Schwartz, _American Couples: Money, Work, Sex_ (New York: Morrow, 1978).

[183]Sylvia Junko Yanagisako, "Women-Centered Kin Networks in Urban, Bilateral Kinship," _American Ethnologist_ 4, no.2 (1977): 207-26.

[184]Tamara Hareven, "The Dynamics of Kin in an Industrial Community," _Families and Work_, eds. Naomi Gerstel and Harriet Engel Gross (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), 73. The ways ethnic voluntary associations fill social, economic and assimilation needs is outlined by Helena Z. Lopata, "The Function

Working-class women today begin working when their children are much younger. In fact, one of the most rapid changes in women's employment patterns has been the increase in women with pre-schoolers working outside the home. While stressful, it is an important pattern for later achievement and higher levels of pay.[185] Once children are past the earliest years of life, working-class women are beginning to have work histories similar to those of men.[186] This is an important corrective to the notion that women are not committed to working because their employment appears to be sporadic. Responsibilities of family and child care nearly always cause these interruptions in employment history, which has little to do with actual commitment to work.[187] Pregnancy leave is much more common among women in middle-class occupations than working-class occupations.

Women do not merely seek employment when their fertility allows, but sometimes limit children in order to work. Working-class women uniquely experience the danger of employment in

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of Voluntary Associations in an Ethnic Community: 'Polonia'," Contributions to Urban Sociology, eds. Ernest W. Burgess and Donald J. Bogne (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964). The importance of mutual support in the black community, especially as centralized in the black church is noted in C. R. Robinson, "Black Women: A Tradition of Self-Reliant Strength," Women Changing Therapy, eds. J. H. Robbins and R. J. Siegel (New York: Haworth, 1983), 141.

[185]Waite, 276.

[186]Rosen, 47.

[187]D.D.V. Bielby and W.T. Beilby, "Work Commitment, Sex-Role Attitudes, and Women's Employment," American Sociological Review 49 (1984): 246.

industries where chemicals, radiation, and other work conditions damage their fertility. Such industries often exclude women of childbearing age, which can push women to sterilization or abortion in order to protect their jobs.[188] Obviously then moral issues around working-class women's fertility are not abstract and philosophical but are quite concrete and economic at their foundations. The attack against abortion and other aspects of women's reproductive control is not only an argument about individual freedom, but also about family survival. For working-class women issues of reproduction and economic production are interdependent. There is no clear line between her private and public life.

Employment also affects a mother's relationship with her children. While one study indicates that lower-class employed mothers tend to express less interest in and less control over their daughters than middle-class employed mothers,[189] others suggest that both working-class and middle-class mothers who are employed have higher degrees of interaction and foster more autonomy and self-reliance in their children than unemployed

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[188]Jeanne Stillman and Mary Sue Henifin, "No Fertile Women Need Apply: Employment Discrimination and Reproductive Hazards in the Workplace," Biological Woman: The Convenient Myth, eds. Ruth Hubbard, Mary Sue Henifin and Barbara Fried (Boston: Schenkman, 1982). See also Petchesky, "Workers, Reproductive Hazards, and the Politics of Protection."

[189]Evan T. Peterson, "The Impact of Maternal Employment on Mother-Daughter Relationship," Marriage and Family Living 23 (1961): 358. However, in single-parent families daughters perceived more interest and less control from their employed mothers than did daughters of unemployed women (p.360).

mothers.[190] And the longer a mother works in a child's life, the more a child acclimates to developing autonomy and not being the focus of family interest. More working-class mothers are likely to work than middle-class mothers, which could explain the studies which say lower-class parents are more permissive in their child rearing practices,[191] and the studies revealing conflicting results about working-class conformity.

Older married employed working-class women (ages 45-65) are generally free of child care responsibilities and so experience somewhat less stress with dual roles.[192] Both work (especially higher paying union jobs) and marriage bring more satisfaction as the ages of both workers and their children increase. While most started work after their children were in school to buy a home and put children through school, most keep working to retain their independence and to retire with dignity.[193]

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[190]Elizabeth Douvan, "Employment and the Adolescent," The Employed Mother in America, eds. F. I. Nye and Lois W. Hoffman (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963).

[191]So say Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst, "Social Class and Color Differences in Child Rearing," American Sociological Review 11 (1946): 698-710.

[192]The position here is that satisfaction does relate to life cycle stage for women, contrary to the conclusions of Mary H. Benin and Barbara C. Nienstedt, "Happiness in Single- and Dual-Earner Families: The Effects of Marital Happiness, Job Satisfaction, and Life Cycle," Journal of Marriage and Family 47 (1985): 975, who claim that stage of life is important for determining the happiness of men but not of women.

[193]Rosen, 35, says that 59% of these older women owned their own homes and 83% had some money in savings.

Women now 70-80 years old had little socialization for a long-term work role, and generally saw work as both temporary and secondary to their spouse's work role. Their patterns of work were thus often interrupted, delayed, and unstable primarily for family reasons (marriage, pregnancy, illness of a family member, or spouse's job fluctuations).[194]

Melvin Kohn suggests that the socioeconomic realities which influence adult personality also influence child rearing practices as parents prepare children for future class realities and engage in the task of social reproduction.[195] Thus, he finds that middle-class parents stress autonomy and internal standards of conduct in their children and discipline children on the basis of motives, whereas working-class parents stress conformity to external standards and are more likely to discipline on the basis of the consequences of a child's behavior. This is true for some though not all of working-class parents.[196]

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[194]Norah Keating and Barbara Jeffrey, "Work Careers of Ever-Married and Never-Married Retired Women," Gerontologist 23 (1983): 416, 418, 420.

[195]Kohn, Class and Conformity, 200.

[196]Kohn, "Social Class and Parent-Child Relationships," 475. This summary is part of a study which confirms Kohn's hypothesis: Viktor Gecas and F. Ivan Nye, "Sex and Class Differences in Parent-Child Interactions: A Test of Kohn's Hypothesis," Journal of Marriage and the Family 36 (1974): 742. As early as 1946 similar refrains could be heard: working-class parents valued children who were neat, clean, obedient, respectful and eager to please adults, while middle-class parents valued children who were eager to learn, could share and cooperate, were loving and confiding in their parents, happy, healthy, and well, according to Evelyn M. Duvall, "Conceptions of Parenthood," American Journal of Sociology 52 (1946): 193-203. These conclusions are confirmed in a study of 9056 adolescents in North Carolina and

The Variable of Marriage

The employed, married woman is the woman who has a dual relationship to socioeconomic class, both through her own low wages and through her relationship to a man who becomes a resource to increase total family wages.[197] While the goal of two salaries in the middle class is generally to maximize individual opportunities due to relative advantage, in the working class the goal of two wages is to protect weaker members through mutual sacrifice and pooling resources due to shared scarcity.[198] Working-class characteristics of anti-individualism, of group solidarity and cooperation are rooted, therefore, in economic realities.

Women who live with the workplace reality that "time is money" and the at-home reality that time is scarce but worth no money are often torn and ambivalent.[199] A sense of being trapped is not uncommon for the married working-class woman who works out of financial necessity, for she often does not

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Ohio in Russell Curtis, "Adolescent Orientations Toward Parents and Peers: Variations By Sex, Age, and Socioeconomic Status," Adolescence 10 (1975): 484. The picture of more controlled child rearing in the middle class is only true prior to World War II, with the working class becoming more exacting and almost desperate to pursue middle-class aspirations for their children after the war, according to Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Socialization and Social Class Through Time and Space," Readings in Social Psychology, ed. E. Maccoby, T. Newcomb, and E. Hartley (New York: Holt, 1958), 423.

[197]Westwood, 232.

[198]Ferree, "The View From Below," 62.

[199]Ferree, "Between Two Worlds," 531.

experience the freedom either to quit work or to divorce lest the family plummet into poverty. Role conflict, both inter-personal and intra-personal, is greater among married employed women than it is for either formerly married or never married women.[200] Neither paid work nor housework are viewed romantically in the working class. Each has its values and costs.

But the relative increase in a woman's economic power also means the relative increase in control over her own fertility, extra-marital sex, whether-when-whom to marry, freedom to divorce and grounds for divorce, control over the household, freedom of movement in the public domain, and access to education.[201] And

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[200]Sandra D'Amico and Dorothy Nevill, "Role Conflict in Women as a Function of Marital Status," Human Relations 28 (1975): 487.

[201]Blumberg, 68f.
Others who recognize that when women earn a substantial percentage of the family income, their family power increases include: R. A. Berk and S. F. Berk, Labor and Leisure at Home: Content and Organization of the Household Day (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1979); Robert O. Blood and Robert L. Hamblin, "The Effect of the Wife's Employment on the Family Power Structure," Social Forces 36 (1958): 348; Robert O. Blood and D.M. Wolfe, Husbands and Wives: The Dynamics of Married Living (Glencoe: Free Press, 1960); David M. Heer, "Dominance and the Working Wife," Social Forces 36 (1958): 347; David M. Heer, "The Measurement and Bases of Family Power: An Overview," Marriage and Family Living 25 (1963): 136; Lois Hoffman, "Parental Power Relations and the Division of Household Tasks," The Employed Mother in America, eds., Lois Hoffman and F.I. Nye (Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1963); C. Perucci, H. Potter, and D. Rhoads, "Determinants of Male Family Role Performance," Psychology of Women Quarterly 3, no.1 (1978): 53-66; and John Scanzoni, Opportunity and the Family (New York: Free Press, 1970).
P.R. Sanday, "Female Status in the Public Domain," Woman, Culture and Society, eds. Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), suggests that when the percentage of income contributed by women to the family is either very high or very low, her status is low. Her power is greatest when her income more nearly equals that of her spouse.

women who work out of economic necessity have more power in family decisions than women who work optionally.[202] It is also true historically that when a woman's economic role is isolated from her husband's role and other women's roles, sexual inequality is more extreme.[203]

Hence, dual-earner families operate with more syncratic decision-making, while single earner families reveal autonomous decision-making in different spheres of influence.[204] Thus, the stereotype of the authoritarian working-class family with rigid

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This lends credence to the contention that the "resource theory" of marital power is limited -- the partner with greatest resources is not the most powerful. Marital power is a much more interactive phenomenon, probably better understood by an "exchange theory" of power according to Constantina Safilios-Rothschild, "The Study of Family Power Structure: A Review of 1960-69," Journal of Marriage and the Family 32 (1970): 548. These exchanges are more influenced by economics and the systemic structure of power relations than by any other variable, however.

[202]Ferree, "The View From Below," 61.

[203]Sally Bould, Women and the Family: Theoretical Perspectives on Development, Working Paper no. 13, Office of Women in International Development (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1982), 4.

[204]The problematic nature of decision-making studies which focus merely on the results rather than the process of decision-making is noted by Hilary Lips, Women Men, and the Psychology of Power (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1981), 134. Also Gerald McDonald, "Family Power: The Assessment of a Decade of Theory and Research, 1970-79," Journal of Marriage and the Family 42 (1980): 841-54. Contradictory conclusions are not uncommon in complex decision-making studies which claim that wives tend to attribute more decision-making power to themselves than men do, but also that men tend to see women playing a greater part in decision-making than women themselves see, in Lips, 136, and Rosenfeld, 106, respectively. Different perceptions of decision-making by husbands and wives is confirmed by Constantina Safilios-Rothschild, "Family Sociology or Wives' Family Sociology? A Cross-Cultural Examination of Decision-Making," Journal of Marriage and the Family 31 (1969): 290-301.

sex roles relies on the man's superior position as breadwinner. Such is the family portrait in several studies in which women were employed outside the home part-time or not at all.[205] The decisional powers and consequent freedoms accruing to working-class women who have some economic power can be quite attractive. The only price is a lot of hard work, and often continuing to grant the husband's _authority_ in the family even if his power has diminished.[206]

The change in relative family power relationships throughout the family life cycle also may be attributed to economics. Blood and Wolfe say that the husband's power is moderate after the honeymoon and before children, and then increases to its maximum level before the oldest child is in school. It then begins a continuing decline until all the children have left home, at

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[205]Rainwater, Coleman, and Handel, _Workingman's Wife_. Arthur B. Shostak and William Gomberg, eds., _Blue-Collar World: Studies of the American Worker_ (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964). By the 1970s women were entering the labor force in greater numbers, but women still only contributed 25% of the family income in Lillian Rubin, _Worlds of Pain_, 96. This contrasts with the more powerful family position of married women in the trades who contributed an average of 45% of family income in Walshok, _Blue Collar Women_.

[206]Myra Marx Ferree, "Sacrifice, Satisfaction, and Social Change," _My Troubles Are Going To Have Trouble With Me: Everyday Trials and Triumphs of Women Workers_, eds. Karen B. Sacks and Dorothy Remy (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1984), 75, notes that power depends on resources usable to control others' behavior, which is different than authority (legitimate power) that depends on ideals and myths to legitimate it. Middle-class women question the ideology of male authority, although women do not have equal power to men; working-class women are gaining equal power to men, so are willing to protect male authority. See note no.10 above for other resources on power and authority.

which point it increases to a moderate level again.[207] A woman's power in the family is least when she is at home with full-time child care, most necessary or common when the family has preschoolers. After that, however, she is increasingly able (and likely in the working class) to work outside the home, which signifies an increase in her relative family power with the increasing years of employment and/or percentage of family income contributed.

Power relations in black marriages are not an exception to this rule. The Black Matriarchy theory of Daniel Moynihan has been refuted by numerous studies.[208] Yet significantly fewer black women than white women ever adopted the traditional submissive woman role, because standing up to racism has taken an obstinate strength, ability to survive, and quiet courage, according to Joyce Ladner.[209] Black couples report egalitarian decision-making regardless of sex, education, age, income, or duration of marriage.[210] It is no accident in the black working class, however, given the structure of employment power relations

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[207]Blood and Wolfe.

[208]H. H. Hyman and J. S. Reed, "Black Matriarchy Reconsidered: Evidence from Secondary Analysis of Sample Surveys," Public Opinion Quarterly 33 (1969): 346-54; D. Mack, "Where the Black-Matriarchy Theorists Went Wrong," Psychology Today 24 (1971): 86-87; Robert Staples, "The Myth of the Black Matriarchy," Black Scholar 1, nos. 3-4 (1970): 8-16.

[209]Ladner, 280.

[210]Russell F. Floyd, "Marital Adjustment and Decision Making Among Stable Black Married Couples," Dissertation Abstracts International 42 (1982): 5025A.

and the importance of compliance therein, to find that reward power (the belief that the spouse will reward one's compliance) is used more frequently in working-class marriages than in middle-class marriages.[211] The structures of relations in economic production influence even marital relations.

Married, unemployed women who are working-class due to the socioeconomic class of the spouse, usually have the consumer power of distribution of economic resources, but this does not equal the relative power which the economic rewards of paid employment provide. Nor is the distribution of subsistance resources equal to the degree of power found in the distribution of surplus resources.[212] Hence, the domestic power of women who are not employed outside the home increases with the available household resources she controls (i.e., total family income), but her domestic power is more restricted than that of the employed woman in a family of comparable income.[213] The control these married unemployed women seem to have in their lives is limited to choosing the right husband and continuing to give him emotional support.[214] These women value a husband who is a good provider, does not chase other women, does not hit her, and does

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[211]DeJarnett and Raven.

[212]Blumberg, 37.

[213]Karen Sacks, "Engels Revisited: Women, the Organization of Production, and Private Property," Toward an Anthropology of Women, ed. Rayna R. Reiter (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975).

[214]Raines and Day-Lower, 56.

not get drunk.[215] Reported political differences between men and women are often differences between men and homemakers, since working men and women share similar political attitudes, according to a 1975 NORC study.[216] Housework inclines one to conservatism and an individualistic rather than structural understanding of problems and solutions.

Not all working-class women are married. Between 1940 and 1975 families headed by women doubled in number to one-in-eight families,[217] and by the mid-1980s the percentages had increased to one-in-six,[218] due to increased numbers of divorced, widowed, and single women (with or without children) among both blacks and whites. Lillian Rubin found that 46 percent of her sample of working-class families experienced some kind of instability, including desertion, divorce, alcoholism.[219] This means many working-class women are alone. In the coming decades these women will have nearly the same employment cycle as men. Even in fiction most commonly read by working-class women (<u>True Confessions</u>, <u>Modern Romances</u>, and <u>True Love</u>), female lead characters are usually heads of household in the labor force.[220]

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[215]Similar negatively phrased litanies may be found in Buss, 184, and in Lillian Rubin, <u>Worlds of Pain</u>, 93.

[216]This study is reported in Szymanski, 546.

[217]Porter, 421.

[218]Crompton and Jones, 130.

[219]Lillian Rubin, <u>Worlds of Pain</u>, 29.

[220]Cornelia Butler Flora, "The Passive Female: Her Comparative Images by Class and Culture in Women's Magazine

In the mid-1970s one-in-three families headed by women lived at or below the poverty level, compared with one-in-eighteen families headed by men. This fact brings home the reality that socioeconomic class is much more than a family derived designation, but is rather the intersection of socially constructed gender, age, race, and sexual preference group identities.[221] These women are also becoming heads of household at a younger age than in previous years, which means they also have greater difficulty with unemployment and underemployment, especially those under age 25.[222] For women in general and for employed female heads of household in particular, employment is "concentrated in lower skilled and lower paid occupations than for employed male heads, and their occupational pattern was altered substantially by their marital status and race."[223] A full 80 percent of working women are clustered in 20 low-paying

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Fiction," Journal of Marriage and the Family 33 (1971): 438, originally published in The Ladies Home Journal (April, 1970). While female dependence is characteristic of certain cultures, such as the Hispanic culture, it is not characteristic of the working class generally. In fact, Flora found dependence and ineffectuality to be more desirable traits and found fewer women continuing to work after marriage but more class mobility in middle-class fiction than in working-class fiction.

[221]Petchesky, "Reproduction and Class Divisions Among Women," 228.

[222]Beverly J. McEaddy, "Women Who Head Families: A Socioeconomic Analysis," Monthly Labor Review (1976): 3. Economic differences between young and old are more marked than between worker and boss, black and white, at least in the unionized labor movement among men according to Lewis Carliner, "Labor: The Anti-Youth Establishment," The White Majority, ed. Louise Kapp Howe (New York: Random House, 1970), 172.

[223]McEaddy, 6.

occupational categories such as clerical, sales, service, factory work.[224]

Black and white heads of household with at least a high school education have roughly the same rates of employment (although rates of pay differ markedly). But black mothers are twice as likely as white mothers to have three or more children, lower educational levels, and less job training, and so have lower work participation rates, higher unemployment rates, and higher rates of poverty. While 20 percent of all children in the U.S. live in poverty, 50 percent of all black children in the U.S. live in poverty.[225] Older black women are nearly twice as likely to have health problems as older white women, which limits or prevents employment in the working class, where one's physical condition is crucial.[226] For all races, however, a "common characteristic of families headed by women is poverty,"[227] since female-headed families earn roughly half the amount that a

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[224]Fischer, 122.

[225]Zimmerman. See also Robinson, 136.

[226]Over 1/2 of young black women and 1/3 of young white women have children, and 1/5 of mature white women and 1/3 of mature black women have health problems, according to U.S. Department of Labor, The Socioeconomic Status of Household Headed By Women: Results from the National Longitudinal Surveys (Washington: GPO, 1980), x.

[227]McEaddy, 7. For similar findings see Scott, 11, who sees poverty as a matrix of inequalities including: (1) income and opportunity for advancement, (2) assets (savings and property), (3) basic services such as access to health, protection, neighborhood amenities, social services, transportation, (4) self-respect and status, (5) opportunities for education, and (6) participation in many forms of decision-making.

similarly structured two-parent family earns. The poorest women are barred from continuous adequate work due to low education levels, early marriage, limited full-time job experience, large family size, but also because of sexism, racism, and classism.[228] And the cycle of poverty among women continues.

The return on an educational investment tends to be greater for single women than for married women, for they earn substantially more, are better educated, hold higher status jobs, work more hours per year, have more work experience and have many fewer children than married women. Income differences among married women are due to differences in hours worked, while differences among single women are due to differences in education. The same differences are true for black single and married women, though the differences are not as great as among white women.[229] Older never-married women born between 1910 and 1920 were never socialized for permanent work, but have a much more continuous work history than married employed women. Most interruptions in their work history are due to non-family causes such as lack of available jobs, need for further training, and poor health.[230]

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[228]Tilly and Scott. Frank Furstenberg of the University of Pennsylvania reports similarly in n.t., Marriage and Divorce Today, 16 June 1986: 1, that teen mothers can gain economic independence by pursuing their education, limiting subsequent births, and achieving a stable marriage (and hence an increased stable income).

[229]Treiman and Terrell, 189-191.

[230]Keating and Jeffrey, 420.

Control and Responsibility as Determinants

of Personality and Values Among Working-Class Women

Similar to Melvin Kohn's distinction between middle-class autonomy and working-class conformity is Julian Rotter's theory of internal and external locus of control of reinforcement.[231] Internal locus of control signifies that reinforcements are contingent on one's own actions. It is accompanied by attempts at mastery of the environment, being alert to aspects of the environment which provide useful information for future behavior, higher achievement motivation and skill-determined rewards, resistance to attempts to be influenced, and lower predisposition to anxiety.[232] Of course, internal locus of control can lead to self-congratulation in a situation of success and self-blame in a situation of failure.[233]

More than one critic has noted that this description of internal locus of control is also the dominant, middle-class ideology for healthy personality.[234] The unpredictability and

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[231]Julian Rotter, "Generalized Expectancies for Internal vs. External Control of Reinforcement," Psychological Monographs 80 (1966): 1-28.

[232]Rotter, "Generalized Expectancies," 25.

[233]P. Gurin et al., "Internal-External Control in the Motivational Dynamics of Negro Youth," Journal of Social Issues 25, no.3 (1969): 32.

[234]S. Tulkin, "Race, Class, Family and School Achievement," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 9 (1968): 31-37; A. Wolfgang, "Cross-Cultural Comparison of Locus of Control," Proceedings of the 81st Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association 8 (1973): 229-300; Herbert Lefcourt, "Internal vs. External Control of Reinforcement: A Review," Psychological Bulletin 65 (1966): 206-20; Esther S. Battle and

lack of economic and political power in working-class life preclude internal locus of control in the lives of many working-class people, although the "successful" working-class women in the trades or the upwardly mobile working-class woman who passes for middle-class have attained some security and may experience internal locus of control. Likewise, the hard-living, frequently unemployed working-class women reveal a kind of rebellious individualism which might be understood as internal locus of control within the context of her subculture.

External locus of control, on the other hand, signifies that reinforcements occur independently of one's own action, whether this is due to chance or luck, cultural forces such as racism and discrimination, or powerful others. It reveals a sense of powerlessness and alienation,[235] less long-range planning, a diminished sense of mastery,[236] a diminished response to success-

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Julian B. Rotter, "Children's Feelings of Personal Control as Related to Social Class and Ethnic Group," Journal of Personality 31 (1963): 482-90; Susan P. Sanger and Henry A. Alker, "Dimensions of Internal-External Locus of Control and the Women's Liberation Movement," Journal of Social Issues 28, no.4 (1972): 115-29. Richard Erickson believes that internal vs. external locus of control is reminiscent of the free will vs. determinism dichotomy in "Psychotherapy and the Locus of Control," Journal of Religion and Health 22, no.1 (1983): 74.

[235]Strongly felt alienation exists among the "schizophrenic," who are found to be high on external locus of control in R. Cromwell et al., "Reaction Time, Locus of Control, Choice Behavior and Descriptions of Parental Behavior in Schizophrenic and Normal Subjects," Journal of Personality 29 (1961): 363-80.

[236]F.L. Strodtbeck, "Family Interaction, Values, and Achievement," Talent and Society, ed. D. McClelland (New York: Van Nostrand, 1958), 138-95.

failure cues,[237] and greater fluctuations in expectancy of success. From the standpoint of most of the poor and working class, success is due to chance or luck, and so those high on external control are more likely to expect failure after a success and success after a failure.[238] There is, however, no relationship between locus of control and intelligence.[239]

The decision-making style of those high on external locus of control tends toward the action-suggestive as opposed to the hypothetical or factual, and the decision implementing mode tends to the task-centered rather then person-centered.[240] Each of these reflects the expectancy that one's knowledge, skills, and behavior cannot determine the outcomes of reinforcements sought, a common experience of powerlessness among the poor and working class.[241] As noted by Garcia and Levenson,

> People who live on a mere existence income are often
> affected by circumstances which are usually interpreted as
> being beyond anyone's direct control, e.g., illness,
> weather, joblessness. Therefore, such people could identify

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[237]I. Bialer, "Conceptualization of Success and Failure in Mentally Retarded and Normal Children," Journal of Personality 29 (1961): 303-20.

[238]W. H. James, "Internal vs. External Control of Reinforcement as a Basic Variable in Learning Theory" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State Univ., 1957).

[239]Paul Hersch and Karl Scheibe, "Reliability and Validity of Internal-External Control as a Personality Dimension," Journal of Consulting Psychology 31 (1967): 609.

[240]Marilyn Ann H. Eigsti, "Interrelationships of Value Orientation, Decision-Making Mode and Decision-Implementing Style of Selected Low Socioeconomic Status Negro Homemakers," Dissertation Abstracts International, 34 (1973): 2758B.

[241]Sue, Counseling the Culturally Different, 74-76.

externality with perceptions of a chaotic and unordered world.[242]

High external locus of control has been found significantly more in ethnics[243] and the lower classes[244] than in the white middle class.

Thus, middle-class and working-class material realities generate differing experiences of personal control over life's exigencies, as noted by Sue Dove Gambill,

> If as a child you are taught you have many options, and you watch adults around you able to create their lives within varied possibilities and you live with adequate food, clothing, medical care, etc. you will likely hold attitudes that allow for choices. Your perspective of the world will likely be more expansive than if you experience the limits of hunger, poor education, cramped living quarters, and adults who were not able to secure and/or maintain good employment. . . . Fatalism in this context, seems a normal response to a frustrating life that is often passed on from generation to generation.[245]

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[242]Claudia Garcia and Hanna Levenson, "Differences Between Blacks' and Whites' Expectations of Control by Chance and Powerful Others," _Psychological Reports_ 37 (1975): 565.

[243]B. Strickland, "Delay of Gratification and Internal Locus of Control in Children," _Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology_ 40 (1973): 338; H. Levenson, "Activism and Powerful Others," _Journal of Personality Assessment_ 38 (1974): 377-83; T. Hsieh, J. Shybut, and E. Lotsof, "Internal vs. External Control and Ethnic Group Membership: A Cross-Cultural Comparison," _Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology_ 33 (1969): 122-24; Tulkin; Wolfgang; Garcia and Levenson, 563.

[244]B. Strickland, "Aspiration Responses Among Negro and White Adolescents," _Journal of Personality and Social Psychology_ 19 (1971): 315-20; V. Crandall, W. Katkovsky, and V. Crandall, "Children's Beliefs in Their Own Control of Reinforcements in Intellectual Achievement Situations," _Child Development_ 36 (1965): 91-109; Battle and Rotter; Lefcourt; Garcia and Levenson, 563.

[245]Sue Dove Gambill, "The Texture of Our Lives," _Women: A Journal of Liberation_ 8, no. 3 (1983): 31.

Many children in the working class learn that assertiveness is not as important as learning "to defer to time, to authority, and to events."[246] One's first concern is survival, and once that is firmly in hand, one may then set one's sights on middle-class respectability.

One might expect all women as members of an oppressed group to be high on external locus of control of reinforcement too, but no such correlation was found among a sample of 6th and 8th grade black and white children where neither age, sex, nor IQ was as highly predictive of locus of control as was social class interacting with race.[247] Nor is there a correlation between perceived control and achievement behaviors for girls.[248] The studies on women and achievement are mixed, for it is suggested that women fear success[249] but such fear is absent among most black women, for example.[250] The contention that belief in

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[246]Seifer, Absent From the Majority, 51.

[247]Battle and Rotter suggest that those highest in internal locus of control were white middle-class children followed by black middle-class, white lower-class, and black lower-class respectively. Lower-class blacks with high IQ's were higher on external locus of control than middle-class whites with low IQ's. Variations by age and sex were not statistically significant.

[248]V.J. Crandall et al., 643-661.

[249]Matina S. Horner, "Toward an Understanding of Achievement-Related Conflicts in Women," Women and Achievement: Social and Motivational Analysis, eds. Martha Mednick, Sandra Tangri, and Lois Hoffman (Washington, D.C.: Hemisphere Publishing, 1975), 206-220.

[250]Peter J. Weston and Martha T. Shuch Mednick, "Race, Social Class, and the Motive to Avoid Success in Women," Women and Achievement, eds. Martha Mednick et al. (Washington, D.C.: Hemisphere Publishing, 1975), 231-238.

feminist ideology tends to increase internal locus of control and that belief in traditional sex role divisions increases external locus of control is inconclusive.[251] Hence, working-class women are generally high on external control of reinforcement, but this is because they are working-class and not because they are women.

However, external locus of control does not correlate perfectly with passivity and conformity. Gurin found among blacks a correlation between those high in external locus of control and effective, innovative social action behavior,[252] grounded in belief in the efficacy of exerting pressure on political institutions, especially collective pressure.[253] This data breaks open the individualistic bias of the concept of locus

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[251]Sanger and Alker suggest that belief in feminism is correlated with decreasing belief in Protestant Ethic Ideology in this sample of university women, although there was no control for social class.

[252]P. Gurin et al.

[253]Julian B. Rotter, "Some Problems and Misconceptions Related to the Construct of Internal vs. External Control of Reinforcement," Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology 43, no.1 (1975): 64, takes account of these divergencies after his earliest studies (1963, 1966). The original naming of these external locus of control distinctions was made by H. Mirels, "Dimensions of Internal vs. External Control," Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology 34 (1970): 226-28, who described the two factors in locus of control: belief about felt mastery over the course of one's life and belief regarding the extent of being capable of exerting an impact on political institutions. Thus, Mirels suggested "passive" and "defensive" types of external locus of control. The suggestion of two types of external locus of control is interesting in light of the observation by Hersch and Scheibe (p. 612) that there is more diversity of personality among those external than those internal in locus of control. The observation by Gurin et al. (p. 32) that external locus of control may be negative if it blames chance but positive if it blames an oppressive system also applies here.
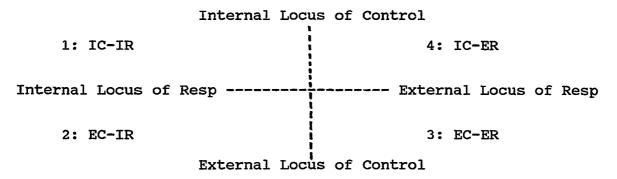
of control, and suggests that questions of power and control must be accompanied by analysis of responsiblity: Who is responsible for the problem and the solution to disparate power?

A helpful corrective is the work of E. E. Jones et al. on the internal and external locus of responsibility,[254] which refers to the degree of responsibility or blame to be placed on the individual (internal locus of responsibility) or on the system or powerful others (external locus of responsibility). In situations of internal locus of responsibility the person's motivations, values, feelings, and goals are important. Success or failure is a sign of the individual's skills or personal inadequacies, and a connection is made between ability, effort, and success. In Gurin's study blacks who were high on external locus of control still saw clearly that the system was responsible for their plight. These persons tended to aspire to non-traditional occupations, to favor group (vs. individual) action for dealing with discrimination, and to exhibit more innovative coping behavior.

In light of these theories, Derald Sue has developed a grid which displays the interaction between expectancy of locus of control of reinforcement and locus of responsibility among cross-

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[254]E. E. Jones et al., ed., Attribution: Perceiving the Causes of Behavior (Morristown, N.J.: General Learning Press, 1972).

cultural populations. They are applied here to working-class women in particular:[255]

Internal Locus of Control

	1: IC-IR		4: IC-ER

Internal Locus of Resp ----------+--------- External Locus of Resp

| | 2: EC-IR | | 3: EC-ER |

External Locus of Control

1. <u>Internal Locus of Control - Internal Locus of Responsibility</u>. Those in quadrant 1 are basically the white middle class who are fast paced action-oriented people who plan behaviors and their consequences. Equality, informality, and achievement are valued. Friendships are many and often of short duration, and obligation to groups is limited. The self is seen as separate from others. Successful women in the trades, may fit this profile, for they are achievement oriented and have enough self-worth to disrupt a "traditional woman" life pattern. Also any working-class woman "passing" for middle-class because of upward mobility could manifest these characteristics, though she may remember enough working-class values of her youth to feel like an imposter.

2. <u>External Locus of Control - Internal Locus of Responsiblity</u>. The majority of working-class women may be in

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[255]Derald W. Sue, "Eliminating Cultural Oppression in Counseling: Towards a General Theory," <u>Journal of Counseling Psychology</u> 25 (1978): 422. General descriptions of the four quadrants can be found in Sue, <u>Counseling the Culturally Different</u>, 81-87.

quadrant 2. These persons expect little sense of control over their lives, but accept responsiblity for it, chiefly through discipline and obedience. Some feel responsible for attaining respectability through upward mobility, yet feel powerless to control their sense of self-worth, and so they adjust themselves to the group in power to avoid feeling inferior, e.g., through cleanliness and consumerism. Their hope for the future is often in their children, for whom they sacrifice greatly, especially for education. They are most prone to self-blame and shame of all the working class. They are both angry and ambivalent about the right to be angry, for they feel out of control and in need of orderliness to bring life under control. Therefore, they mistrust spontaneity. They have, more than others perhaps, a divided self: a self which performs and seeks recognition and a self that just wants to be accepted and loved for who one is.[256]

3. <u>External Locus of Control - External Locus of Responsibility</u>. Those in quadrant 3 seem to have given up and are living examples of learned helplessness. They appear to placate and show deference to those in power and they struggle merely to survive. This group may include some who are downwardly mobile due to illness or unemployment and those sometimes thought of as the "traditional working-class wife" with young children and little household income. Many in this group are plagued by what Michael Lerner calls "surplus powerlessness"

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[256]Sennett and Cobb, 37, 79, 194, make the connection between upward mobility and self-blame, anxiety, ambivalence about anger, and the divided self.

with a "deep emotional commitment to losing, to being isolated, and to remaining powerless."[257] Survival means barely holding on, although from a systemic perspective one might say that such "survival is a form of resistance" as well.[258]

4. <u>Internal Locus of Control - External Locus of Responsibility</u>. Those in quadrant 4 understand classist and racist exploitation, or at least that the political and economic system as it exists will not admit them to full membership. They display racial or class pride and a desire for collective social action, or they rebel against the system expecting that socially unacceptable behavior is necessary for the attainment of goals.[259] These women are often fiercely independent and can appear mean for purposes of protection and survival, as does Sarah Jones who says she "was the cussedest one in the family."[260] When working-class woman Josephine Hunter says,

> I'm not afraid, I'm not afraid. . . . I raised my
> daughter the best that I could. I've never sold my
> body to nobody. I've never stole anything. I've never
> been arrested. And you can go places and find that I

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[257]Michael Lerner, <u>Surplus Powerlessness: The Psycho-dynamics of Everyday Life and the Psychology of Individual and Social Transformation</u> (Oakland: Institute for Labor and Mental Health, 1986), i.

[258]Quote from Meridel LeSeur, <u>Harvest and Song for My Time</u> (1977; reprint, Minneapolis: Marxist Educational Press, 1982), 5.

[259]Arthur G. Neal and H. Theodore Great, "Social Class Correlates of Stability and Change in Levels of Alienation: A Longitudinal Study," <u>Sociological Quarterly</u> 15 (1974): 551, note normlessness as one measure of alienation common to the working class.

[260]Buss, 115.

> have a record of working. That's the way it was, so I can face my God.[261]

she is saying that she knows rebellion through illegal or immoral behavior is an option for working-class people, one she was able to avoid. Whether the IC-ER women responds to life with collective social action or rebellion, she is searching for the dignity that comes with regaining control over one's life, the on-going search of most working-class people.

This picture of the different manifestations of locus of control and locus of responsibility helps to clarify why studies may be conflicting regarding characteristics of the working-class woman. One of the few studies which distinguishes types of working-class women is Arthur Shostak's typology of working-class daughters, whom he calls the achievers, the accomodators, and the rebels. These roughly coincide with the IC-IR (achievers), the EC-IR and EC-ER (accomodators), and the IC-ER (rebels).[262] The working-class woman may be in any of these quadrants depending on her occupation, education, marital status, number of children, ages of children, and the legacy of her past. The working-class woman is not one, but is many women.[263]

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[261]Buss, 19.

[262]Shostak, 169-79.

[263]Mary Jo Meadow, "The Cross and the Seed: Active and Receptive Spirituality," Journal of Religion and Health 17 (1978): 62, has developed an interesting typology of spiritual personalities reflecting similar emphases to those in Sue's grid, although she does not focus on the working class in particular: the discipliner, the communer, the neighbor, and the zealot.

The limitation of such a grid is the temptation to categorize people, and thus a caution to understand the grid as a process rather than positions should be issued. It is likely that in differing situations a working-class woman may experience differing levels of control and responsibility. At work she may experience no control over her life and decisions, while at home her control and responsibility may be quite significant. The healthy working-class woman may not be _in_ any of these quadrants, but has the capacity to move between them as situations demand.

Discovering Problems and Strengths of Working-Class Women

The working-class woman has strengths, but any attempt to discern these ought not be for the purpose of putting her on the pedestal of the "noble savage," whose simplicity we admire from afar. Don Browning does this, I contend, when he suggests that working-class strengths include the ability to relax, learning to include the less manageable in life, and learning to accept the less abstract as a vital dimension of life.[264] Working-class women rarely relax and are not often prone to workaholism. Frank Riessman believes that the working class encourages freedom from intellectualization, the ability to express feelings including anger, a physical and visual style of learning, informality, a sense of humor, and freedom from self-blame.[265] The Sextons

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[264]Browning, "Religion, Revelation, and the Strengths of the Poor," 48.

[265]Frank Riessman, "The Strengths of the Poor," _New Perspectives on Poverty_, eds. Arthur B. Shostak and William

contend that in wanting and expecting less, in accepting life as it comes, the working class is often less frustrated and more tolerant than the middle class.[266]

But many working-class children grow up learning to be ordinary, sometimes bored, and often ignored. They learn coping skills born of their one-down position. They learn to trust actions over words; to pay attention and listen; to mistrust promises, pretense, smooth talkers, intellectualizers, people who "butter-up" superiors; to ask questions and admit ignorance; not to talk about one's personal life in public or in front of strangers; to dress right and look right; to do without; to lower one's expectations; to want only what one can afford; to minimize needs so as not to feel deprived; and to limit plans for the future so as not to be disappointed.

What is needed is an understanding of existing resources for change among working-class women, and what resources need developing. The pain, shame, fear, lack of trust, despair, and conformity of working-class life that are generated by economic conditions and power relations are all too often suffered in private, but strengths in working-class women exist and they must be named and claimed for collective solutions to emerge. Three strengths are mentioned by Karen Kollias, which are in harmony

Gomberg (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965), 44. Also Frank Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child (New York: Harper, 1962). The "deprivation" understanding of class has now been laid to rest but some of the research results remain significant.

[266]Sexton and Sexton, 252.

with the liberative needs of the working class noted by Dorothee Soelle: decision-making for survival, family orientation and group identity, and social responsibility aiming at the recovery of dignity.[267]

First, many working-class women develop strong self concepts because of a life-time of experience making decisions about survival, including decisions about which utility one can afford not to pay and which food pantry, relative, or neighbor to visit if the week is longer than the paycheck. They have courage, endurance, a straight-forward honesty, and a toughness born of learning to live on the edge. Native American Irene Pyawasit sought education not for respectability but for survival, "to be as smart as that man out there not only so you can live side by side, but make sure that he don't cheat you or rob you."[268]

Adversity has a way of discouraging dependence. Survivors and rebels are often more militant and less conforming than the working class concerned with respectability, for they have much less to lose.[269] The mother-blaming sometimes heard in the middle class is generally absent in the working class, where mothers are seen as strong role models on survival, as evidenced in these words of Rachel Tilsen:

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[267]Karen Kollias, "Class Realities: Create a New Power Base," Building Feminist Theory: Essays From Quest, eds. Charlotte Bunch et al. (New York: Longman, 1981), 130-32.

[268]Buss, 153.

[269]John C. Leggett, "Economic Insecurity and Working Class Consciousness," American Sociological Reveiw 29 (1964): 226, is a study of 375 working-class men in Detroit.

> When we can see how our mothers survived,
> we can see our own survival.
> And we can make choices for ourselves.
> We can even decide who is at fault.[270]

And there is a willingness to give some responsiblity to a problematic child's father rather than bear all the guilt oneself.[271] Working-class women regardless of age or race display more powerful interpersonal styles of interaction in small groups and perceive themselves as less sex-typed than middle-class women.[272] There is an honesty and lack of pretense about living so close to the survival level, an ability to take life as it comes. In the words of Sharon Lord,

> When a little girl has had a chance to learn strength,
> survival tactics, a firm grasp of reality, and an
> understanding of class oppression from the women around
> her, it doesn't remove oppression from her life, but it
> does give her a fighting chance. And that's an
> advantage.[273]

Second, for working-class women, family, ethnic,[274] or class

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[270]Quote by Rachel Tilsen found in Meridel LeSeur, _The Girl_ (1978; reprint, Minneapolis: Marxist Educational Press, 1982), 150.

[271]Buss, 9-11.

[272]Jill C. Herbert, "Manifest and Latent Construction of Power in Black and White Working Class Women," _Dissertation Abstracts International_ 37 (1976): 3148B.

[273]Sharon Burmeister Lord, "Growin' Up -- Appalachian, Female, and Feminist," _Appalachian Women: A Learning/Teaching Guide_, eds. S. B. Lord and C. Patton-Crowder (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1979), 25.

[274]Stephen Steinberg, _The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity, and Class in America_ (1981; reprint, Boston: Beacon, 1989), 170, suggests that while ethnicity can be a strong influence on identity, it is not as strong as socioeconomic class. Ethnic conflict is usually minimal when social, economic, and political parity is in place.

groups are the context in which she finds her identity and experiences the meaning of loyalty and fairness.[275] Only in these smaller groups does one engage in commitment, risk taking, accountability, and mutual trust in the face of a very untrustworthy system.[276] Within family, ethnic, or class groups a less competitive/individualistic and more cooperative/group understanding of living and offers of mutual aid necessary for basic survival are encouraged.

> It is women who bridge the gap between what a household's resources really are, and what a family's position is supposed to be. Women exchange babysitting, share meals, lend small amounts of money . . . The working-class family literature is filled with examples of such pooling.[277]

Working-class women often do not see themselves as separate workers but as part of a family enterprise.[278] Separatism and individualism are options of those with privilege, and the sense of family or community betrayal is great when a working-class person gains privilege and does not use it to help others but keeps it as a reward to self.[279] Thus, working-class women

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[275]Pete Hamill, "The Revolt of the White Lower Middle Class," The White Majority, ed. Louise Kapp Howe (New York: Random House, 1970), 20, notes the importance of loyalty and sense of fairness, as well as courage and endurance in working-class life.

[276]Fisher, 13, also notes that the family is the "soul" of minority and lower-class culture.

[277]Rapp, 288.

[278]Rosenfeld, 268, makes this observation of farm women, but it could easily apply to most working-class women.

[279]Barbara Smith and Beverly Smith, "Across the Kitchen Table: A Sister-to-Sister Dialogue," This Bridge Called My Back:

expect to pay their full share, and rarely try to make a case for being an exception to prevailing rule about cost or labor owed.[280] If a working-class woman came into extra money, she would likely give it away rather than save it for a better apartment or an insurance policy. She always knows somebody in the family who needs it more than she does.[281]

Gary Crase, the son of a working-class, mountain mining family has this to say about family:

> You might say [my mother's] the root of the family.
> She tries to take care of most of the problems, and
> when something goes wrong she tries to mend it. She's
> the chief of emotions. . . . A family is a group of
> people that has more concern for each other than two
> friends would have. They share ideals. They share
> their feelings with each other. . . . There are more
> dangers in the city than there are in the mountains.
> From what I've heard, the city is like a chicken house
> with a fox loose in it. The people are all scattered
> and unless the farmer throws the fox out, the chickens
> can't all group back together. Like here, we have
> communities. In a way people copy each other. . . .
> They're all working together to make one general idea
> come about.[282]

Writings of Radical Women of Color, eds. Cherrie Morago and Gloria Anzaldua (1981; reprint, New York: Kitchen Table, Women of Color Press, 1983), 121.

[280]The assumption that limited funds should entitle one to some financial aid, comes much more frequently from the middle class, who also struggle with guilt and defensiveness when asked to pay more than their share in Joan Nikelsky, "'From Each According to Ability...': Experiments in Cost Sharing," Women: A Journal of Liberation 8, no.3 (1983): 42.

[281]Ahshe, "Class Vignettes," Quest: A Feminist Quarterly 3, no.4 (1977): 66. Darlene Leache reports that "you give your last dime for a relative in need," in Buss, 136.

[282]Ewald, 60.

Working-class life, according to Frank Riessman, encourages peer cultures and sibling interaction as well as the independence, maturity, and self-education of children since adults are concerned with survival of the family unit.[283] The goal of working-class parents is to raise children who are decent, honest, and trustworthy, and they don't say much about their children's emotional security, creativity, the capacity to relate to others and to grow.[284]

While middle-class families emphasize personal well-being, choices, needs, fulfillment, prosperity, and an equitable division of rights and responsibilities, working-class families emphasize conformity to the rules, defining one's place in the family by one's role or one's relation to the whole, and unequal rights and responsibilities since this is what one learns on the job. The middle-class marriage is more a contractual arrangement and sexuality is separable from reproduction, while the working-class marriage is seen as a sacred trust transcending the individuals, and identity-sexuality-reproduction are linked or life is meaningless and immoral. To the degree that working-

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[283]Riessman, "The Strengths of the Poor," 44. Sibling solidarity was not found to be a characteristic enduring into later adulthood among men, however, in George A. Rosenberg and Donald Anspach, "Sibling Solidarity in the Working Class," Journal of Marriage and the Family 35 (1973): 108.

[284]Mirra Komarovsky, "Blue-Collar Marriages and Families," The White Majority, ed. Louise Kapp Howe (New York: Random House, 1970), 37.

class women subscribe to roles,including sex roles, it is for the purpose of family survival which is at base economic.[285]

The primary obstacle to working-class women's involvement in the Women's Movement is the individualistic segregation of the sexes and sexual morality they find there. To appeal to the poor and working-class woman, the middle-class Women's Movement needs to understand the working-class identification with family and the need to address economic issues.[286] Both working-class and middle-class families are patriarchal but the middle class obscures it (she tries to reason with him then is silent to get him to give in) and the working class exaggerates it (she shouts at him to make her point).[287]

Even working-class art follows this pattern. It seeks not to be uniquely individual, but finds its origins in the group situation -- in the church, meeting hall, worksite, quilting bee, picket line -- dealing with common work or common oppression. It generally seeks not "to tell some timeless truth [or] . . . to lift people outside of the world, but to inspire consciousness

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[285]Interestingly the most rigid sexual division of labor is in the upper classes, also for economic reasons. See Blood and Wolfe, 36, and Susan A. Ostrander, Women of the Upper Class (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), 150.

[286]Myra Marx Ferree, "Women's Movement in the Working Class," Sex Roles 9, no.4 (1983): 493. See also Jan Rosenberg, "Feminism, the Family, and the New Right," Class, Race, and Sex: The Dynamics of Control, eds. Amy Swerdlow and Hanna Lessinger (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1983), 126.

[287]Susan Harding, "Family Reform Movements: Recent Feminism and Its Opposition," Feminist Studies 7, no.1 (1981): 62-64.

about the world and actions in the world, extending experiences of the world, enlarging the world working people experience."[288]

Third and finally, working-class women sometimes become responsible leaders in resisting injustice at their workplace and in their communities. They organize around any issue related to the struggle of their family or neighborhood to survive with dignity.[289] They are much "more likely to become activists on behalf of others facing similar problems than feminists seeking their own personal fulfillment in life."[290] Working-class women are taught to do the right thing and so "when you're wrong, you're due to pay up . . . Anybody know when they're right an' when they're wrong."[291] They are raised with a sense of equity and fairness, often with a sense of social responsiblity.[292] Through a unique interplay of forces they become willing to enter the public forum with those collective resistive efforts. In the

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[288]Paul Lauter, "Working Class Women's Literature -- An Introduction to Study," Radical Teacher 15 (March 1980): 18.

[289]See Ann Bookman and Sandra Morgen, eds., Women and the Politics of Empowerment (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988) for 14 essays on workplace and community organizing. Whether or not the original goals are attained, women are still empowered by organizing, as in Studs Terkel, "Blue-Collar Wife: Being a Woman in One of America's Most Scorned Families," Today's Health, Feb. 1972: 48-53, 72.

[290]Seifer, Nobody Speaks for Me!, 30.

[291]A quote by Irene Nixon, an old black farmer interviewed in Sherry Thomas, We Didn't Have Much, But We Sure Had Plenty: Stories of Rural Women (Garden City: Anchor, 1981), 8.

[292]Jean Turner, "Reflections on Class Consciousness," Women: A Journal of Liberation 8, no.3 (1983): 3.

words of Maria Fernandez, they understand that "public expose is a necessary part of resistance."[293]

The strength emerging from having to make decisions in order to survive and learning to rely on, find one's identity in, and be an advocate for the family and/or community of which one is a part provides a seedbed in which social responsibility can take root. Ralph Nader suggests a process of "strength building on strength" in the development of women activists:

> The process of becoming an active citizen does not
> start with the particular provocation of perceived
> injustice. There is something in upbringing and
> personal culture of an individual that provides the
> necessary receptivity to activism. It is a combination
> of personal dignity, compassion for others, a welling
> of self-confidence in the absense of anyone else to
> rely on, and dynamic preservation instincts covering
> family, community, and principles of fairness.[294]

Frances Farenthold elaborates the importance of the vacuum, the "perceived injustice," the "absence of anyone else to rely on" or any other solutions, which create a kind of implosion to generate a new creation. For these women usually judge themselves to be ordinary, they are not brought up to be leaders, and they are at first uneasy in the larger world beyond their homes. In the words of a woman factory worker in Lima, Peru:

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[293]Maria Patricia Fernandez, "Maquiladores: The View From the Inside," My Troubles are Going to Have Trouble With Me: Everyday Trials and Triumphs of Women Workers, eds. Karen B. Sacks and Dorothy Remy (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1984), 243.

[294]Ralph Nader, "Forward," Women Activist: Challenging the Abuse of Power, ed. Anne Witte Garland (New York: Feminist Press, 1988), ix.

> Never before have we fought like this! For us this is still the most significant and the strongest-ever experience of struggle. When we started we really didn't know what we were getting into. We didn't know how to conduct a meeting, let alone speak in public. When I had to speak I use to shiver and my hands would sweat. It was only discussions with our husbands or children, or amongst ourselves in the workshop that taught us ways of speaking which made us feel as if we were really fighting. . . . This started us thinking: the women who have to face all sorts of problems, problems which male workers don't have to face, why are we frightened? Is it because we are women starting a struggle?[295]

They are at first more use to living with anger, pain, and despair, but the vacuum and the need shifts the direction of the anger outward to mobilize them to work to correct the injustice and inequality of their lives.[296]

At the workplace most male-dominated unions have considered women unorganizable and 80-90 percent of all women are non-union, although usually unions do not respond to the dual roles of women, e.g., having evening meetings with no child care provided. Yet, women have organized in the workplace on a number of occasions. While unions are most common in industry and in the trades, there are a few unions among clerical workers, such as the "9 to 5" Union of Office Workers aligned with the Service Employees Union,[297] and unions of nurse's aides, retail clerks,

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[295]A report included in Margaret Randall, Women Brave in the Face of Danger (Trumansburg, N.Y.: Crossing Press, 1985), n.p.

[296]Frances Farenthold, "Introduction," Women Activists: Challenging the Abuse of Power, ed. Anne Witte Garland, xv-xix.

[297]Cheryl Schaffer, taped panel presentation at 7th National Women's Studies Association on "Work, Race, and Class: Making the Links in Theory and Practice," College Park, Md., 1985. The factor of sex appeared to have little bearing on whether workers

and barbers (a 97 percent male union).[298] In the clerical and

service unions women's leadership is more common than in

industry.[299] These women are amenable to unions because many

came from union families, but their agenda is usually not freedom

or even promotions. It is how to feed the kids. As noted by

Christine Ellis, organizer of the unemployed in the 1930s and

member of the Communist Party, "The women were more militant than

the men . . . [they] were usually the most outspoken because they

had the children to feed and they had to provide the food for the

family."[300] While some argue that women's informal work

relations are essentially conservative, fostering employment

complacency or traditional family and gender roles,[301] it is also

clear that these relations can provide the basis of resistance to

management.[302] And while it is not only heads of household who

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voted for or against unionization of white-collar clericals
according to Edward B. Curtin, White-Collar Unionization (New
York: National Industrial Conference Board, 1970).

[298]Louise Kapp Howe, Pink Collar Workers, 44, 95.

[299]Shulamit Reinharz, "Women as Competent Community
Builders: The Other Side of the Coin," Social and Psychological
Problems of Women: Prevention and Crisis Intervention, eds.
Annette Rickel, Meg Gerrard, Ira Iscoe (Washington: Hemisphere
Publishing, 1981), 20.

[300]Quoted in Lynd and Lynd, 30.

[301]Leslie Woodcock Trentler, Wage-Earning Women: Industrial
Work and Family Life in the U.S., 1900-30 (New York: Oxford
University Press, 1979). Also Westwood.

[302]Karen Sacks, "Computers, Ward Secretaries, and a Walkout
in a Southern Hospital," My Troubles are Going to Have Trouble
with Me: Everyday Trials and Triumphs of Women Workers, eds.
Karen B. Sacks and Dorothy Remy (New Brunswick: Rutgers
University Press, 1984), 173-92; Barbara A. Stoltz, Still

are in unions, greater economic insecurity moves one in the
direction of class consciousness, which is part of the process of
responding to work conditions with critique in solidarity rather
than despair, a prelude to eventual unionization.[303]

Working-class women are also much more involved and hold
more leadership roles than men in neighborhood associations,
which became more numerous in the late 1960s as neighborhoods
became less secure and stable.[304] Both Nancy Seifer and Kathleen
McCourt report that many working-class women understand
themselves as traditional women, yet they are neither passive nor
dependent and they actively seek change that would benefit their
family and community.[305] For the most part they have no paying
job or pre-school children, and their community organizing
receives little support from their husbands. They "make
collective demands on irresponsible businessmen, unhelpful
bureaucrats and self-serving elected officials."[306] They
understand that those in power only change when confronted with

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Struggling: America's Low-Income Working Women Confronting the
1980's (Lexington, Ma.: Lexington Books, 1985), 64f., 80f,
suggests that working women can display both a captive mentality,
revealing psychological barriers to change, and a master
mentality, revealing an assertive openness to overcoming the
problem of low income.

[303]Class consciousness tends to increase with the denial of
full employment opportunities, with spatial concentration of
large numbers of workers, and with informal and formal channels
of communication, according to Leggett, 231.

[304]Seifer, Absent From the Majority, 12.

[305]Seifer, Nobody Speaks for Me!, 23. McCourt, 25.

[306]McCourt, 25.

power. The community activism of black working-class women is usually centered in the church. Community activism, while unpaid, should be seen as distinct from middle-class volunteerism, because of its aim to alleviate collective pain stemming from unjust structures.

These strengths of working-class women just named are somewhat less true for the upwardly mobile, who carry a sense of living in-between, in-the-meantime, such that to be working-class is seen as a temporary status "between the terrors of poverty and the security of the middle class."[307] These working-class women often have not developed a sense of their own place or of their history as a collective entity, which means that they may lack a sense of who they are because they are always on their way to something better. Some so identify with middle-class values as to attempt to hide their poverty and lifestyle, seeking the appearance of middle-class respectability. They often live with a pervasive though elusive sense of emptiness.

Clearly decision making for survival, family/group orientation/identity, and social responsibility which resists injustice are working-class strengths. It is also true that these strengths emerge from the distorted material reality of domination and exploitation undergirded by the ideology of individualism, progress, and upward mobility. Ultimately it is not enough merely to survive, it is not enough merely to find one's identity in the group, it is not enough to live only to

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[307]Kennedy, xiii.

resist. But in the meantime, these material realities and the strengths emerging from them interplay to influence the psychological development and moral decision-making of the working-class woman in some particular ways. These will be addressed in the succeeding two chapters. There we will find that the working-class woman develops and makes decisions in order to overcome.

CHAPTER 3

Working-Class Women and Psychological Development

> For those of us (few yet in number, for the way is
> punishing), their kin and descendants, who begin to
> emerge into more flowered and rewarded use of our
> selves in ways denied to them; --and by our achievement
> bearing witness to what was (and still is) being lost,
> silenced. . . . These are not natural silences, that
> necessary time for renewal, lying fallow, gestation, in
> the natural cycle of creation. The silences I speak of
> here are unnatural; the unnatural thwarting of what
> struggles to come into being, but cannot. In the old,
> the obvious parallels: when the seed strikes stone; the
> soil will not sustain; the spring is false; the time is
> drought or blight or infestation; the frost comes
> premature.[1]

Developmental Theory: Critique and Assumptions

The social sciences are a nineteenth century invention with

"development" as a central organizing concept, and from the time

of Sigmund Freud developmental theories have been a significant

way to try to understand the nature of the human personality.[2]

Developmental psychology is concerned with the description,

explanation, and modification (optimization) of behavior and the

meaning of behavior across the life span.[3]   According to

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[1]Olsen, Silences, 13, 15.

[2]Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Development of the Concept of
Development," Sociological Theory 1984, ed. Randall Collins (San
Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1984), 102.

[3]P. B. Baltes, H. W. Reese, and J. B. Nesselroade, Life-Span
Developmental Psychology: Introduction to Research Methods
(Monterey: Brooks/Cole, 1977), 468, suggest this definition of
development based on behavior, to which I have added "the meaning

Marjorie Fiske there are numerous theories of change and how people move through life, including stage theories, self-actualization theories, eclectic social change theories, and dialectic theories.[4]

Stage theorists understand life-cycle development as a progressive, logical movement through age-related states unfolding to a more complex and mature self. It is an ontogenic process assuming an end state, unidirectionality, sequentiality, irreversibility, qualitative structural changes, and universality of applicability. Examples of stage theory include Freud's theory of psycho-sexual development from infancy to adulthood,[5] Erik Erikson's schema of psycho-social development from birth to death,[6] and Swiss biologist Jean Piaget's theory of cognitive

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of behavior." The importance of the teleological character of persons as psychic agents ("individuals who act on the environment framing it predicately and then behaving for the sake of the meaning framed.") is spelled out more fully by Joseph F. Rychlak, "A Nontelic Teleology?" American Psychologist 34 (1979): 436.

[4]Marjorie Fiske, "Changing Hierarchies of Commitment in Adulthood," Themes of Work and Love in Adulthood, eds. Neil J. Smelser and Erik H. Erikson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 241-42. Five years earlier she suggested three types of developmental theories: psychoanalytic, humanistic, and social structural stage and age theories, in Marjorie Fiske Lowenthal, Majda Thurnher, and David Chiriboga, Four Stages of Life: A Comparative Study of Women and Men Facing Transitions (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1975), x.

[5]Sigmund Freud, "Psycho-Analysis," Collected Papers, vol. 5, ed. James Strachey (New York: Basic, 1959), 107-30.

[6]Erikson, Identity: Youth and Crisis.

development.[7] Other stage theories of human development include

the moral development theory of Lawrence Kohlberg,[8] the

interpersonal perspective-taking theory of Ronald L. Selman,[9] the

natural epistemological development theory of J. M. Broughton,[10]

the ego or self-development theory of Robert Kegan,[11] the ego

development theory of Jane Loevinger,[12] and the faith development

theory of James Fowler.[13] The recent and popular work in adult

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[7]Jean Piaget, The Moral Judgment of the Child (1932; reprint, New York: Free Press, 1965). Piaget is concerned with the construction of novelty rather than with predestined paths that all people in all cultures follow, according to Lynn Liben "Individuals' Contributions to Their Own Development Throught Childhood: A Piagetian Perspective," Individuals as Producers of Their Development, eds. Richard M. Lerner and Nancy A. Busch-Rossnagel (New York: Academic Press, 1981), 147.

[8]Lawrence Kohlberg, The Meaning and Measurement of Moral Development (Worcester: Clark University Press, 1981).

[9]R. L. Selman, The Growth of Interpersonal Understanding (New York: Academic Press, 1980).

[10]J. M. Broughton, "Genetic Metaphysics: The Developmental Psychology of Mind-Body Concepts," Body and Mind, ed. R. W. Rieber (New York: Academic Press, 1980), 177-221.

[11]Robert Kegan, The Evolving Self: Problems and Process in Human Development (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982). Kegan posits five stages which move between the poles of independence/autonomy and connection/inclusion, a movement also found in the differentiation-adaptation language of biologists. See also Robert Kegan, "The Evolving Self," Women's Spirituality: Resources for Christian Development, ed. Joann Wolski Conn (New York: Paulist, 1986), 88-106.

[12]Jane Loevinger, Ego Development: Conceptions and Theories (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1976).

[13]James W. Fowler, Stages of Faith (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1981).

development by Roger Gould,[14] Daniel Levinson,[15] and Gail

Sheehy[16] are also stage theories.

While all stage theories claim the importance of the

environment as context, the environment actually serves as a mere

provider of options, a stimulus or retardant, and a testing

ground for the unfolding of a pre-determined structure or course

of development.[17] In most cases the normative context is

actually the small middle-class nuclear family of the

industrialized, capitalist West, although this is usually not

explicitly stated. Klaus Riegel notes this cultural and class

bias in his observation that agricultural societies with

elaborate kin systems understand biological markers (e.g.,

ability to walk, to bear children) to be the significant

indicator of life-span sub-divisions, rather than such

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[14]Roger Gould, Transformations: Growth and Change in Adult Life (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1978). Most of Gould's sample were middle-class white males born before or during the Depression.

[15]Daniel J. Levinson, The Seasons of a Man's Life (New York: Knopf, 1978) aims to create a developmental perspective on adulthood in men. He interviewed 40 men in 4 different professions from which he gleaned a life structure of stable and transitional periods that revolve around the goal of individuation.

[16]Gail Sheehy, Passages: Predictable Crises of Adult Life (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1974).

[17]This understanding and critique of the place of environment in stage theories is offered by Klaus F. Riegel, "History of Psychological Gerontology," Handbook of the Psychology of Aging, eds. James E. Birren and K. Warner Schaie (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1977), 71.

abstractions as ego, self, and morality.[18] Susan Buck-Morss also

finds a socioeconomic bias in developmental stage theory,

focusing on that of Piaget in particular.[19] Society and the

environment are simply more complex and diverse than stage

theorists would have us believe.

In addition to class bias, each of these stage theorists has

received critique for their male bias from such researchers as

Juanita Williams,[20] Nancy Chodorow,[21] Dorothy Dinnerstein,[22] Lisa

Eichenbaum and Susie Orbach,[23] and Carol Gilligan,[24] although

Gilligan herself proposes yet another stage theory. Sex bias is

evident in any theory which fails to address the complexity in

the lives of women who have primary responsibility for both child

care and economic sustenance of the family, women who do not

solidify their identity, which stems in large part from the

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[18]Klaus Riegel, "Adult Life Crises: A Dialectic
Interpretation of Development," Life-Span Developmental
Psychology, eds. Nancy Datan and Leon Ginsberg (New York:
Academic Press, 1975), 105.

[19]Susan Buck-Morss, "Socioeconomic Bias in Piaget's Theory
and Its Implications for Cross-Culture Studies," Human
Development 18 (1975): 35-49.

[20]Juanita Williams, Psychology of Women: Behavior in a Bio-
Social Context (New York: Norton, 1977), 57.

[21]Nancy Chodorow, The Reproduction of Mothering: Family
Structure and Feminine Personality (Berkeley: University of
California Press, 1977).

[22]Dorothy Dinnerstein, The Mermaid and the Minotaur: Sexual
Arrangements and Human Malaise (New York: Harper & Row, 1976).

[23]Lisa Eichenbaum and Susie Orbach, Understanding Women: A
Feminist Psychoanalytic Approach (New York: Basic, 1983).

[24]Gilligan, In a Different Voice.

nature of one's work, before moving on to intimacy and

generativity as Erikson suggests human psycho-social development

proceeds. Nor do women commonly sacrifice relationships if they

get in the way of their dream, as Levinson suggests many men do.

Additionally, an age bias in stage theories is likely since there

is some evidence that if age is taken seriously, the possibility

of stage reversibility and regression from the pre-determined

end-point exists.[25]

A further problem of stage theory is the virtual absence of

the creative self as key to unfolding development. At most, the

self may serve a somewhat executive function to negotiate

conflicts, as in the theories of Freud, Erikson, and Gould, but

the self's role in setting goals, manipulating the environment,

perceiving and attributing meaning, creating a new world is

missing.[26] Individual differences often seem limited to the rate

of progression through the stages.[27] Both Janet Geile and Klaus

Riegel believe that a serious challenge to stage theory is its

neglect of the importance of the unity of the individual in the

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[25]Regression to earlier stages of moral development among some persons in middle age and at pre-retirement is noted in Marjorie Fiske, "Toward a Socio-Psychological Theory of Change in Adulthood and Old Age," Handbook of the Psychology of Aging, eds. James E. Birren and K. Warner Schaie (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1977), 118.

[26]Paul Chance and Joshua Fischman, "The Magic of Childhood," Psychology Today 21, no. 5 (1987): 51, 58, notes the absence of the creative self in Piaget.

[27]Leland D. Van den Daele, "Ego Development and Preferential Judgment in Life Span Perspective," Life Span Developmental Psychology, eds. Nancy Datan and Leon Ginsberg (New York: Academic Press, 1975), 52.

movement between differentiation (learning complexity, growing) and integration (achieving identity, integrity, wholeness) throughout all of life.[28] Adler calls this the "creative self" setting life-style goals, Charlotte Buhler calls it intentionality, and Marjorie Fiske Lowenthal calls it goal reassessment and commitment. The nature of being human is to be an active, choice-making self which is more or less active and choice making "depending on one's skin color and bank account."[29]

A second type of human development theory is self-actualization theory, which includes the work of Gordon Allport,[30] Charlotte Buhler,[31] Kurt Goldstein,[32] and Abraham Maslow.[33] Here growth is on-going rather than stage-like. Problems or even apparent regression are seen either as individual difficulties or as ultimately productive of unfolding, over-all growth. It can also be said that there is a class bias in self-actualization and growth theories to the degree that

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[28]Geile, "Adulthood as Transcendence of Age and Sex," 155.

[29]This insightful comment came from Bernice Neugarten, "Continuities and Discontinuities of Psychological Issues Into Adult Life," Human Development 12 (1969): 121-130.

[30]Gordon Allport, Becoming (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955).

[31]Charlotte Buhler, "The General Structure of the Human Life Cycle," The Course of Human Life: A Study of Goals in the Humanistic Perspective, eds. C. Buhler and F. Massarik (New York: Springer, 1968), 12-26.

[32]Kurt Goldstein, Human Nature in the Light of Psychopathology (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940).

[33]Abraham Maslow, Motivation and Personality (New York: Harper & Bros., 1954).

those whose energies must be focused on survival rather than self-actualization are viewed as persons with individual problems of retarded development, ignoring the force of an oppressive socio-political context on developmental patterns.

A third category of developmental theory proposed by Fiske is eclectic social change theory, a group which includes Fiske herself[34] and Janet Z. Geile,[35] as well as those working with longitudinal data such as George Vaillant[36] and Pauline and Robert Sears.[37] They take seriously the rapidness of social change and the implications of such change for sequentially rigid stage theories. For Fiske this rapid social change points to uncertainty and chaos out of which one must continually be changing commitments. Geile sees the change more positively -- as an opportunity to forge one's own realization of self by transcending the rigidity of both age-specific roles and sex roles.[38]

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[34]Fiske, "Changing Hierarchies of Commitment in Adulthood."

[35]Janet Z. Geile, "Crossovers: New Themes in Adult Roles and the Life Cycle," Women's Lives: New Theory, Research, and Policy, ed. Dorothy G. McGuigan (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1980), 3-15.

[36]George Vaillant, Adaptation to Life (Boston: Little Brown, 1977).

[37]Pauline S. Sears and Ann H. Barbee "Career and Life Satisfaction Among Terman's Gifted Women," The Gifted and the Creative: a Fifty Year Perspective, eds. J. Stanley, W. George, and C. Solano (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977). Also Robert Sears, "Sources of Life Satisfactions of the Terman Gifted Men," American Psychologist 32 (1977): 119-128.

[38]Geile, "Adulthood as Transcendence of Age and Sex."

Eclectic social change theories appear to be rooted in the social theory of George Herbert Mead (social interactionism) more than that of Karl Marx (dialectical materialism). Thus, they emphasize roles (changing commitments, transcendence of sex roles), they do not consider the biological plane nor the outer physical plane extensively, and they more clearly place the individual at the center of his or her development than does Riegel, who tends to see the individual-psychological plane as one of several intersecting planes. They suggest the truth in George Vaillant's Adaptation to Life, that adulthood is full of surprises which all theory must be flexible enough to incorporate.[39]

A fourth theory of human development, which arose in the 1970s and is less a life-cycle theory than a life-course or life-span theory, is dialectic developmental theory.[40] A major representative of dialectic theory is Klaus Riegel, who states that stage and self-actualization theories are idealistic, that developmental tasks are never really completed in discrete predictable stages, nor are they inevitably progressive and growthful.[41] Because both organism and environment are active and interactive, crises or conflicts are normal and inevitable.

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[39]Vaillant.

[40]The distinction in developmental studies between life-cycle perspectives and life-course perspectives is noted in Patricia Allatt and Teresa Keil, Women and the Life Cycle: Transitions and Turning Points (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 1.

[41]Riegel, "Adult Life Crises."

The confrontation of the individual-psychological plane with the inner biological plane (accident, illness, death), the cultural-sociological plane (with its more or less unequal distribution of opportunities, demands, expectations, resources, rewards, power), and the outer-physical historical plane (floods, earthquakes, droughts, war) in an ever moving system creates conflicts that upset relative equilibrium which must reach resolution that incorporates both the reality of the previous equilibrium and the new requirements or demands of the crisis.[42] The individual is faced with turning points or movements of decision between progress and regression,[43] although the range of possibilities for decision differs with each socioeconomic class. It is even possible that a person's behavior may progress for one event and regress for another. Development occurs from the interface between these different planes, which must take seriously the

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[42]While conflict is not absent in stage theories, the conflict occurs within a stage rather than between stages, and generally within the individual rather than between planes of existence, according to Riegel, "History of Psychological Gerontology," 71. Riegel believes that Piaget inaccurately describes cognitive development because the aim of his stage theory is to abolish conflict and reach equilibrium, rather than to learn to live with contradictions. See Klaus Riegel, "Dialectical Operations: The Final Period of Cognitive Development," Human Development 16 (1973): 345-376.

[43]"Decision demands are a prime normative mechanism for providing the movement that translates a static age grading system into the life course and ultimately into the biography of the individual," according to Robert C. Atchley, "The Life Course, Age Grading, and Age-Linked Demands for Decision Making," Life-Span Developmental Psychology, eds. Nancy Datan and Leon H. Ginsberg (New York: Academic Press, 1975), 261.

asynchronies as well as confrontations and conflicts that are the reason for further development.[44]

Bernice Neugarten contends, incorrectly I believe, that the differentiation-integration model which Riegel proposes is really a biological growth model that is not entirely appropriate to wholistic developmental studies because it implies growth toward an end-point of actualization and ignores the life-long changing relationship between biology and psychology.[45] Indeed a sociologically trained developmentalist such as Neugarten is not likely to propose such a universal end-point of human development. And Riegel is aware that development is not inevitably growthful. But even a dialectical materialist such as Marx admitted that humanity had a purpose: persons were made for sensuous connection through production and reproduction. Development implies a teleology.[46] Adler helps to name that teleological point as "striving for completion" or the "striving

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[44]Klaus Riegel, "Toward a Dialectical Theory of Development," Human Development 1-2 (1975): 51.

[45]Bernice Neugarten, "Adult Personality: Toward a Psychology of the Life Cycle," Middle Age and Aging, ed. Bernice Neugarten (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1968), 142.

[46]The teleological aspect of developmental laws reflects the necessity, not regularity or causality of development. Development tends to be in the direction of the simple to the more complex, and an adequate understanding of the nature and value of a phenomenon is related to its role and place in the process of development whether synchronically (the structural explanation of the phenomenon having a place in and therefore closing the developmental gestalt) or diachronically (the functional explanation of the phenomenon being a temporal part of the larger whole, a means to the end). See Richard F. Kitchener, "Developmental Explanations," Review of Metaphysics 36, no. 4 (1983): 791-817.

for overcoming inferiority," the content of which is the courage for social feeling and social interest. The life-long movement through events and phases of equilibrium, conflict, and adaptation finds its patterning through the individually chosen style of pursuing this overcoming or completion in light of one's resources for coping. Differentiation-integration is not the pattern, but equilibrium-conflict-adaptation in light of the self-styled and self-chosen teleological point of overcoming is the pattern.[47]

Dialectical theory takes seriously that different historical epochs create new persons. Most of us are different people than thirty years ago due to the advent of cheap and effective birth control, the decline in heavy industry and growth in service and information occupations, the hopes generated in the civil rights and women's movements, the increase in divorce and female-headed households, and the feminization of poverty which forces many women to plan for lives after or instead of marriage.[48] We are also influenced by social changes in the modern era, including a decrease in infant mortality, control over plagues and epidemics,

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[47]The definition of "adaptation" used here is the maximization of social life chances. See Richard M. Lerner and Nancy A. Busch-Rossnagel, "Individuals as Producers of Their Development: Conceptual and Empirical Bases," Individuals as Producers of Their Development, eds. Richard M. Lerner and Nancy A. Busch-Rossnagel (New York: Academic Press, 1981), 10.
The position of this study argues against the progressive differentiation of cohorts suggested by Atchley, 262.

[48]The importance of generational shifts in life course development was a contribution of the Chicago school, e.g.,Robert Havighurst and Bernice Neugarten, who focused on roles much more than Riegel, however. See Riegel, "Adult Life Crises," 105.

a decreased experience with death throughout the life cycle, a decrease in the rate of marriage, the concentration of child bearing between the ages of 18 and 28, an increased amount of time that couples remain childless, and increased life expectancy.[49] These changes affect the character of life-span development. It is also true that certain individuals (Luther, Gandhi) and certain cohorts (youth of the 1960s) can strongly influence culture and history. The interaction is truly multi-directional.

Biology, environment, and history are all important in dialectical life-span theory, with the causes and outcomes of development being many and varied. Inner biological factors interface with social norms to create normative age grading in a society. There are expected times for any developmental turning point, including the beginning of puberty, work, marriage, child-bearing, menopause, retirement, although as noted by Bernice Neugarten these are becoming more fluid with child-bearing occurring at 14 and at 44, with retirement occurring at 55 and at 80.[50] Biological age also intersects with history to create age-graded cohorts, which are populations of individuals entering a

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[49]These modern changes are noted by Neil J. Smelser, "Issues in the Study of Work and Love in Adulthood," Themes of Work and Love in Adulthood, eds. Neil Smelser and Erik Erikson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 3.

[50]Bernice Neugarten and Dale A. Neugarten, "The Changing Meanings of Age," Psychology Today, May 1987: 29-33.

specified environment at the same point in time.[51] The tasks and

behaviors of 20-year olds may be quite different for those who

are age 20 in 1920, in 1940, in 1960, and in 1980.[52] While

inter-cohort differences derive from historical variations,

intra-cohort differences are seen as deriving from differential

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[51]This definition of "cohort" is found in K. Warner Schaie, "Historical Time and Cohort Effects," Life-Span Developmental Psychology: Historical and Generational Effects, eds. Kathleen McCluskey and Hayne W. Reese (Orlando: Academic Press, 1984), 1-16. He also notes that cohorts may be history graded (e.g., those living through the Depression) and non-normatively graded (e.g., those who are divorced or those with an infectious disease) as well as age-graded.

[52]Riegel notes the distinction between cross-sectional design studies which consider age differences and cohort differences, time-lag design studies which consider cohort differences and time-of-testing differences, and longitudinal design studies which consider age differences and time-of-testing differences. He encourages the use of all three for results of greatest precision. See Klaus F. Riegel, "Development and History in Social Science Theories," Psychology of Development and History (New York: Plenum, 1976), 12.
　　A problem with longitudinal studies is that the less competent often drop out which slants the results, and a problem with cross-sectional studies is that the matching of subjects is difficult which weakens cohort effects, according to Richard M. Lerner, Concepts and Theories of Human Development (Reading, Ma.: Addison-Wesley, 1976), 216.
　　Neugarten and Datan note the way age norms have changed for women since 1890 in Bernice L. Neugarten and Nancy Datan, "Sociological Perspectives of the Life Cycle," Life-Span Developmental Psychology: Personality and Socialization, eds. Paul B. Baltes and K. Warner Schaie (New York: Academic Press, 1973), 61:

Median Age At	1890	1966
Leaving school	14	18
Marriage	22	20
Birth of first child	24-25	21
Birth of last child	32	26
Death of husband	53	64
Marriage of last child	55	48
Death	68	78

interpretation of crises and confrontations, differential coping resources, and the strength of the interaction itself.[53]

Dialectic developmental theory is the vantage point of this study, for life history and cohort analyses explain why there are variations not only between working-class and middle-class women, but also why there are variations in development and decision-making patterns among working-class women.[54] Dialectic theory also takes seriously the teleological nature of human life, as suggested by Adler, and the conflicts of patriarchal and capitalist hierarchical relationships (not Freudian intra-psychic conflicts) that are at the heart of individual development, as suggested by Marx. The individual is at the center of the developmental adaptation to these conflicts, as Adler would encourage us to affirm.

Women and Developmental Theory

At the heart of the discussion about whether or not women develop differently than men is the question of what constitutes being female. Is it primarily a biological reality, a social

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[53]Dale Danneter, "Adult Development and Social Theory: A Paradigmatic Reappraisal," American Sociological Review 49 (1984): 104, claims that Riegel explains inter-cohort differences as a result of history, but never really accounts for intra-cohort differences except as a result of maturational (biological) differences. Danneter does not recognize Riegel's indebtedness to George Herbert Mead for his concept of the self.

[54]For the disadvantages of conflict theory (influence of social-cultural constraints) and childhood socialization theory and the advantages of life history and cohort analysis see Gerson, 23.

construction, or some other reality? Penelope Washbourn suggests that the meaning of femaleness is rooted in the experience of living in a woman's body. Her schema of development therefore is grounded in the experiences of birth, menstruation, sexual expression, childbearing, nursing, menopause, aging, and death as biological experiences of either grief or glory.[55] As pointed out by Jean Lambert, however, this says nothing about the bodily experiences of building a shelf, cultivating a garden, being afraid of going out at night alone, or clerking in a department store. Nor does it grant fulfillment to females who are celibate, lesbian, voluntarily non-reproductive (childless by choice) or involuntarily non-reproductive (prenatally defective, accidentally injured, infertile, diseased, in pain, limited by surgery, post-menopausal).[56] Interestingly, among the women in the Kansas City study the naming of "menstruation" as the beginning of womanhood was mentioned only by women unemployed in the public sector, women who understood their primary identity as wife and mother. This was true for both middle-class and working-class women.

Another explanation of female identity formation is the psychoanalytic perspective of women's mothering, specifically neo-Freudian Object Relations theory, which focuses on women's primary role in child-rearing. It posits that male identity

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[55]Penelope Washbourn, "The Dynamics of Female Experience," Kairos (Summer 1979): 3-5.

[56]Jean Lambert, "A Response to Penelope Washbourn," Kairos (Autumn 1979): 12.

formation occurs through the need to distinguish himself from and separate from the mother or mother figure, whereas female identity formation occurs through identification with the mother. Hence, males tend to have more rigid and females more flexible ego boundaries. Feminist psychoanalytic theorists such as Chodorow, Dinnerstein, Eichenbaum and Orbach, as well as other feminist theorists including philosopher of science Evelyn Keller,[57] Marxist-feminist political theorist Nancy C.M. Hartsock,[58] and philosopher of education Carol Gilligan[59] nod their assent to the Object Relations perspective. As was true of Freud's psycho-sexual theory, however, Object Relations theories are basically a-historical; they suggest women's distress is intrapsychically (or at best, interpersonally) conflictual; they presume full-time mothering, the nuclear family, and heterosexuality; they ignore the differing mother-child relations among ethnic minorities, lesbians, and working-class women; they ignore the child's birth order, activity level, and place in the family structure; and the therapeutic approach derived from the theory maintains the power differential between therapist and client.[60] Object Relations theory presupposes but does not

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[57]Evelyn Keller, "Feminism and Science," _Signs_ 7 (1982): 589-602.

[58]Hartsock, _Money, Sex, and Power_.

[59]Gilligan, _In a Different Voice_.

[60]More extensive critiques of the feminist appropriation of Object Relations theory can be found in: Pauline Bart, "Review of Chodorow's The Reproduction of Mothering," _Mothering: Essays in Feminist Theory_, ed. Joyce Trebilcot (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman &

explain male domination, and suggests that fathers are more problematic because they are absent than because they are powerful.[61] And hence, Object Relations theory continues mother blaming with its emphasis on the "not good enough mother."[62] According to Rachel Siegel, however, "[women's] feelings of emptiness and helplessness are not caused primarily by the 'not good enough mother' but by the deprivation of good enough treatment by society."[63] Chodorow and her many followers would do well to heed the words of radical feminist Judith Arcana:

> All our mothers teach us is what they learned in the crucible of sexism. They cannot give us a sense of

Allanheld, 1983), 147-152; Judith Lorber et al., "On The Reproduction of Mothering: A Methodological Debate," _Signs_ 6 (1981): 482-514; Dorothy N. Rigby-Weinberg, "A Future Direction for Radical Feminist Therapy," _Women and Therapy_ 5, nos. 2-3 (1986): 192; Fee; and Spelman.

Interestingly, at one time Chodorow recognized that economics had something to do with whether or not children were raised to be compliant, responsible, and obedient on the one hand, or assertive, independent, self-reliant, and oriented toward achievement on the other. She believed even then, however, that the cause of patriarchal violence is anxiety-ridden mothering. See Nancy Chodorow, "Being and Doing: A Cross Cultural Examination of the Socialization of Males and Females," _Woman in Sexist Society_, eds. Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran (New York: Basic, 1971), 260-283.

[61]Iris Young believes Chodorow fails to distinguish male domination and gender identification, the former a structural relation and the latter a matter of individual psychology and experience. See Iris Marion Young, "Is Male Gender Identity the Cause of Male Domination?" _Mothering: Essays in Feminist Theory_, ed. Joyce Trebilcot (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Allanheld, 1983), 129, 134.

[62]D. W. Winnicott, "The Theory of the Parent-Infant Relationship," _International Journal of Psychoanalysis_ 41, no.6 (1960): 585-595.

[63]Rachel J. Siegel, "Women's 'Dependency' in a Male-Centered Value System," National Women in Psychology, 1986.

self esteem they do not possess. We must learn to
interpret anew the experience our mothers have passed
on to us, to see those lives in terms of struggle,
often unconscious, to find and maintain some peace,
beauty, and respect for themselves as women.[64]

Another variation of the psychoanalytic theme may be found
in the stage theory of Dan Levinson, who examines the "seasons of
a man's life" and has found a respondant in Judith Bardwick, who
suggests that women's lives also have seasons.[65] Levinson
believes that all men have "the Dream" of success and
fulfillment, usually associated with their work, for which they
would sacrifice relationships with mentor and wife if need be.[66]
According to Bardwick, however, the dream of most young women is
relational.

This dream begins to take shape with early socialization
when the dependence of infancy is not discouraged in girls as it
is for boys, so that they remain dependent on others' love and
acceptance.[67] The sex-role socialization of childhood and the

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[64]Judith Arcana, Our Mother's Daughters (Berkeley: Shameless
Hussy Press, 1979), 70. Both Arcana and Adrienne Rich suggest
that the needed change in child-rearing is not to bring men into
the activity with greater vigor and regularity, as suggested by
Chodorow and Dinnerstein, but to develop woman bonding as a
solution to oppressive motherhood. This, of course, occurs with
greater regularity in the working class than in the middle class.
See Adrienne Rich, Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and
Institution (New York: Norton, 1976).

[65]Judith Bardwick, "The Seasons of a Woman's Life," Women's
Lives: New Theory, Research and Policy, ed. Dorothy G. McGuigan
(Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1980), 35-57.

[66]Levinson, Seasons of a Man's Life, 195.

[67]Judith Bardwick and Elizabeth Douvan, "Ambivalence: The
Socialization of Women," Women in Sexist Society: Studies in

sexual maturing and dating interests of adolescence confirm this pattern. The transition into early adulthood is marked by the desire for an intimate sexual relationship, although an increasing number of women expect to combine this with career.[68] The transition at ages 28-30 is a time of giving up the image of being young, that one's involvements are tentative and one's options are open. Women without a primary intimate relationship begin to be anxious or question their femininity. The transition at ages 39-40 is a time of emerging independence, including assessment of marriage satisfaction, assessment of career goals, and assessment of who one is as well as what one does. The psychological stresses of the "empty nest" and the economic stresses of divorce are both possibilities. The transition around age 50 is one in which a woman may become caretaker for her own parents and so she is again more inter-dependent. To the degree that she is preparing for death herself, she may become increasingly dependent.

Bardwick sees in women's development the dialectic between separation and attachment, a central theme in psychoanalytic thought. Women are dependent, interdependent, or ego-centric (independent) depending on the stage of life. Bardwick also

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Power and Powerlessness, eds. Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran (New York: Basic, 1971), 227.

[68]Maxine Junge and Vernett Maya, "Women in Their Forties: A Group Portrait and Implications for Psychotherapy," Women and Therapy 4, no. 3 (1985): 10, found that women in the middle- and upper-middle classes had no dream of achievement in their 20's, that their dream was their husband's dream.

believes, as do Catherine Chilman and Lillian Rubin, that because
of sex role socialization women who strive for independence feel
guilt and anxiety, just as men who recognize their dependency
needs experience guilt and anxiety.[69] This may be true for those
who aspire to or are part of the white Christian heterosexual
middle class. But it is not true for many ethnic women, Jewish
women, lesbians, and poor and working-class women.[70] To
understand women's development as revolving around relationality
is to study primarily the development of "woman as full-time
wife," with women who do not accord with this life pattern being
made invisible. In fact, many working-class women experience the
opposite of relationality and connection. As Chris Smith has
said,

> Dealing with basic survival issues can isolate us.
> Being a single parent working for just over minimum
> wage, struggling to find acceptable affordable child
> care so we can put food on the table and pay the rent,
> makes it difficult to sense connection because life can
> feel like a solitary struggle simply to survive.[71]

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[69]Catherine S. Chilman, "Some Psychological Aspects of
Female Sexuality," The Family Coordinator 23 (1974): 129.
Lillian Rubin, lecture on chapter 3 of her book Intimate
Strangers, University of California, Los Angeles, 12 Jan. 1985.

[70]Siegel, "Women's 'Dependency'", 6. The classic
anthropological study which clarifies that sex roles are a result
of socialization rather than biology or women's mothering is
Margaret Mead, Sex and Temperment in Three Primitive Societies
(1939; reprint, New York: Mentor Books, 1950), in which she found
women and men who were cooperative, unaggressive, responsive to
the needs of others among the Arapesh; women and men who were
aggressive, unresponsive, individualistic among the Munduguma;
and dominant, impersonal, and managing women, and emotionally
dependent, less responsible men among the Tchambuli.

[71]Chris Smith, "The Promise of Ecstatic Intimacy," Woman of
Power: Feminism, Spirituality, and Politics 13 (1989): 5.

Relationality as a life theme is not only softened but is entirely mute for many women of the working class.

Certainly love and intimacy are needs of all humans. But they are experienced and expressed differently according to socioeconomic class. Erik Erikson's understanding of intimacy is the mutual spending time with, expression of warm feelings for, sharing of thoughts with, and confiding in spouse and close friends.[72] This is an expressive characterization of love, characteristic of the middle class. Working-class persons, however, emphasize mutual aid, including practical care and assistance when talking about love, and working-class women look much more to kin and children for intimacy than to their husbands.[73]

Bardwick's contention that the dream of young women is relational is confirmed by Baruch, Barnett, and Rivers who asked 300 Caucasian women between the ages of 35 and 55 (no widows) about the significant tasks of young adulthood. Most said creating a relationship of love. They assumed they would work, but it was not that important to them.[74] The ones who had considered work in a serious way had absent fathers and working

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[72]Walter Gruen, "A Study of Erikson's Theory of Ego Development," Personality in Middle and Late Life, eds. Bernice Neugarten et al. (New York: Atherton, 1964), 6.

[73]Francesa Cancian, "Gender Politics: Love and Power in the Private and Public Spheres," Gender and the Life Course, ed. Alice Rossi (New York: Aldine, 1985), 255, citing D. M. Schneider and R. Smith, Class Difference and Sex Roles in American Kinship and Family Structure (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1973).

[74]Baruch, Barnett, and Rivers, 1.

mothers while growing up, but even the poorest had a dream of marriage in young adulthood.[75] The poor and working-class woman who dreams of marriage, however, often does so as an escape from family of origin poverty and insecurity rather than as a continuation of dependency or a means to self-fulfillment. The behavior may be the same but the meaning of the behavior often differs markedly.

Carol Gilligan's In a Different Voice also highlights the distinction between attachment and separation but understands these not only as movements in a woman's life but also as a distinction between women's and men's development. She too confirms that women are relational, that women's identity is defined in the context of relationship and is judged by a standard of care, while relationships merely help qualify rather than realize male identity. But because Gilligan is concerned with the importance of context as women face psychological and moral issues, the lack of attention to women in differing socioeconomic contexts is striking. She admits that her judgments come from a small and highly educated sample.[76] It is more descriptive of the middle class to say, as Gilligan does, that the goal of men's identity development is achievement and success, while the goal of women's more relational development is

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[75]Bardwick, "Seasons of a Woman's Life," 39.

[76]Carol Gilligan, "In a Different Voice: Visions of Maturity," Women's Spirituality: Resources for Christian Development, ed. Joann Wolski Conn (New York: Paulist, 1986), 68.

interdependence.[77] There is some evidence from the now classic Broverman study that this is true only for women and men whose mothers were not employed outside the home and devoted themselves to full-time homemaking and child rearing. Significantly fewer differences between men and women in terms of both competency and relational expressiveness are identified among children of employed mothers, and daughters of employed women perceived women less negatively on competency characteristics than did daughters of homemaker mothers.[78] Of course, a higher percentage of working-class mothers are employed outside the home than is true of the middle class.

Nor is Gilligan attentive to age context or age cohorts. She interviews primarily women in their 20s and 30s, but there is evidence that women in their 40s and 50s have greater achievement motivation than women in their 20s.[79] There is also evidence

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[77]This bi-polar description of development is noted in Carol Gilligan, "Restoring the Missing Text of Women's Development to Life Cycle Theories," Women's Lives: New Theory, Research, and Policy, ed. Dorothy G. McGuigan (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1980), 20.

[78]I. K. Broverman et al., "Sex-Role Stereotypes: A Current Appraisal," Journal of Social Issues 28, no. 2 (1972): 74.

[79]Carol J. Erdwins, Zita E. Tyer, and Jeanne Mellinger, "Achievement and Affiliation Needs of Young Adult and Middle-Aged Women," Journal of Genetic Psychology 141 (1982): 219. Achievement and affiliation needs were measured by the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule and the independence-conformity of achievement needs was measured by the California Personality Inventory. Baruch claims that achievement motive is high in college women in young adulthood, declines for 5-10 years after college, and then increases again 15-25 years post-college. Bardwick says that affiliative needs predominate when women are younger and achievement needs predominate around age 40, as cited in Erdwins, Tyer, and Mellinger, 219.

that men and women share more cross-sex behaviors with increasing age. The self-concept of women is less stereotypically feminine as women get older.[80] Gilligan's results may well be shaped not only by the socioeconomic class but also by the age of her sample.

And while Gilligan does recognize that relationships can mask both desire and conflict such that one's integrity, truth, and locus of responsibility are confused,[81] she does not distinguish between types of relationality in any helpful way. The relationship of parent to child is, optimally at least, different from the relationship between spouses.[82] In Erikson's language the one is concerned with generative (procreative, creative, productive) relationality while the other is intimate (mutual) relationality.[83] These differ markedly, and probably both men and women are better at generative relationality,

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[80]See Bernice L. Neugarten and David L. Gutmann, "Age-Sex Roles and Personality in Middle Age: A Thematic Apperception Study," Psychological Monographs: General and Applied 72, no. 17 (1958): 1-30. Also Lowenthal, Thurnher, and Chiriboga, suggest that major sex differences occur at adolescence and midlife (p. 15) and that older women with low family investment seem to endorse values traditionally viewed as characteristic of men (p. 188).

[81]Gilligan, "Restoring the Missing Text," 24.

[82]Gilligan does say that women moving from adolescence to adulthood must shift from an understanding of care as "pleasing others" to care as "a self chosen anchor of personal integrity." This hints at a distinction between dependence and mature mutuality, but the socio-historical roots of this shift are not mentioned. See Gilligan, "Restoring the Missing Text," 29.

[83]Erikson, Identity, 137. See also Elizabeth Hall, "A Conversation With Erik Erikson," Psychology Today 17, no. 6 (1983): 22-30.

whether the focus is women nurturing children in early adulthood or men mentoring sons or protegees in late adulthood, than either men or women are at the task of intimacy. Gilligan in her later work also confuses dependence and inequality.[84] She names each as characteristic of infancy and values dependence throughout life. But what of inequality? The distinction by Jean Baker Miller between the temporary inequality of human development (e.g., parent to child, mentor to protegee) and the permanent inequality of oppression (between men and women, between socioeconomic class) is missing.[85] The quality of relationality, the complex nature of dependence and inequality at the societal as well as familial level are not considered.

Socioeconomic Class and Developmental Theory

Socioeconomic status is a variable that typically accounts for large portions of the variance in studies of developmental outcome (usually I.Q.), often the majority of the variance. . . . Failure to select for or analyze this variable would be considered a major

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[84]Carol Gilligan, "Remapping the Moral Domain: New Images of the Self in Relationship," Reconstructing Individualism: Autonomy, Individuality and the Self in Western Thought, eds. Thomas C. Heller, Morton Sosna, and David Wellbery (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), 243-250. Daryl Smith, "Women's Concept of Self," Womanwords meeting, Claremont, Ca., 28 Nov. 1984, claims that women are not dependent but that they are caretakers, who know more about taking care of others than taking care of self. They are seeking the attachment of being taken care of.

[85]Jean Baker Miller, Toward a New Psychology of Women (Boston: Beacon, 1975).

flaw in developmental outcome research as well as in
normative and experimental research.[86]

Frances Horowitz finds that studies which take the socioeconomic

class variable seriously find more variability within the lower

classes than within the middle class. Apparently there are few

ways to be normative, but many ways to deviate from that cultural

norm.

Some developmental studies do address the issue of social

stratification by pointing to differences in the timing and tasks

of development for both men and women of different socioeconomic

classes. Bernice Neugarten as well as Herbert Gans have noted

that the family life cycle begins and runs its course a few years

later in life for men and women at higher socioeconomic levels,

signaled by the later occurrence of the following events:

finishing school, leaving the parental home, first job, marriage,

birth of first child, birth of last child, grandparenthood,

menopause.[87] Traditionally this delay has been due to the

transitional time spent in college among middle-class youth, but

changing job availability, attitudes about work, availability of

mates also affect the timing of adult role assumption.[88] The

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[86]Frances D. Horowitz, *Exploring Developmental Theories:
Toward a Structural Behavioral Model of Development* (Hillsdale,
N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1987), 180.

[87]Bernice Neugarten and Joan W. Moore, "The Changing Age-
Status System," *Middle Age and Aging: A Reader in Social
Psychology*, ed. Bernice L. Neugarten (Chicago: The University of
Chicago Press, 1968), 7. Neugarten, "Adult Personality," 145.
Gans, *The Urban Villagers*, 28-73.

[88]Margaret Mooney Marini, "Determinants of the Timing of
Adult Role Entry," *Social Science Research* 14 (1985): 309.

importance of timing rather than tasks in the developmental

process has also been confirmed by Hanson twenty years later.[89]

There are other socioeconomic differences noted in the

developmental literature. Alex Inkeles reports that upper and

middle-class boys say they prefer the male sex role strikingly

more often than do lower-class boys.[90] Marjorie Fiske Lowenthal

in her study of lower middle-class men and women notes the way

they tend to move from crisis to crisis without taking the time

to answer questions about life's task or purpose, as persons

higher on the socioeconomic scale more frequently do. When they

did take the time, however, they responded in terms of tasks to

be done rather than reasons for being.[91] Munson and Spivey

report that there is much more heterogeneity of self-concept

among lower-class women than among either the middle-class or

upper-class women, and there is no difference in discrepancy

between actual and ideal self-concept in women across social

class lines.[92] Janet Geile reports that the increasing happiness

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[89]S. L. Hanson, "Family Life-Cycle Approach to the Socioeconomic Attainment of Working Women," _Journal of Marriage and Family_ 45 (1983): 335-36, notes that delayed marriage, higher family incomes during the middle work years (@ age 40), and liberal sex-role attitudes during the middle work years enhances chances for labor market success, while larger numbers of children at home during the early and middle work years detracts from occupational attainment.

[90]Alex Inkeles, "Society, Social Structure, and Child Socialization," _Socialization and Society_, ed. John Clausen (Boston: Little, Brown, 1968), 122-23.

[91]Lowenthal, Thurnher, and Chiriboga, 176-77.

[92]J. Michael Munson and W. Austin Spivey, "Relation Between Social Class and Three Aspects of Self-Concept: Actual, Ideal,

and engagement that occurs with increasing age is true only for the classes with higher education and income, although even the poor elderly had <u>areas</u> of satisfaction.[93]

Because of these differences between the developmental patterns of the working class and the middle class, Fiske's contention that one's location in the socioeconomic hierarchy influences whether one's young adult commitments are oriented to interpersonal relationships, achievement-mastery-competency, altruistic-generative-moral-religious values, or self-protection and survival is to be affirmed.[94] For example, women in lower classes seeking mastery and achievement are less concerned with interpersonal relationships and acceptance than are middle-class professional women, according to Fiske and to Angelini.[95] And working-class women who are concerned with achievement tend to understand it in terms of "usefulness" rather than

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and Ego-Centric Self," <u>Journal of Social Psychology</u> 119 (1983): 91-92.

[93]Geile, "Adulthood as Transcendence," 163.

[94]Fiske, "Changing Hierarchies of Commitment in Adulthood," 245.

[95]Fiske, "Changing Hierarchies of Commitment in Adulthood," 248. A. L. Angelini, "Um Novo Metodo para Avalier a Motivacao Humano," (A New Method of Evaluating Human Motivation) <u>Bol. Fac. Filos. Cienc. S. Paulo</u>, 207 (1955), cited in Elizabeth G. French and Gerald S. Lesser, "Some Characteristics of the Achievement Motive in Women," <u>Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology</u> 68 (1964): 120. Hoffman's generalization that achievement motives in women are characterized more by a desire for love rather than for mastery probably refers to a middle-class sample. See Lois Wladis Hoffman, "Early Childhood Experiences and Women's Achievement Motives," <u>Journal of Social Issues</u> 28 (1972): 136.

"outstandingness."[96] There is also less "fear of success" among women from the lower middle and working classes than among women from the middle and upper middle classes, according to Matina Horner,[97] and less among black working-class and middle-class women than among white middle-class women.[98] There is also some evidence that achievement and mastery may be goals in the working class but socioeconomic conditions prevent their pursuit, and one's life focus becomes survival.[99] Hence, poor and working-class women do not experience role conflict in the same way that middle-class women do. Or commitment to survival may be life-long such that all other commitments are secondary.

Interestingly in a list of primary human needs Speed Leas and Paul Kittlaus agree with Fiske's list of four possible commitments in adulthood by including affiliation (relationships, being close), achievement (success in accomplishing a task), self-fulfillment (something intrinsically interesting and productive), and security (concern with maintenance and survival). However, they claim there is a fifth human need --

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[96]Lowenthal, Thurnher, and Chiriboga, 177.

[97]Matina S. Horner, "Toward an Understanding of Achievement-Related Conflicts," Journal of Social Issues 28 (1972): 168.

[98]Weston and Mednick, 236.

[99]Robert S. Agnew, "Social Class and Success Goals: An Examination of Relative and Absolute Aspiration," Sociological Quarterly 24 (1983): 435-52, studies a sample of men from Detroit and Baltimore, but the class-based reality of sacrificing goals for survival applies to both men and women.

that of power.[100] They understand power as something possessed by isolated individuals: "having an impact, receiving recognition, leading." This is not unlike the understanding of power by Peter Blau (the ability to impose one's will on others, the ability to prevail when decisions are made),[101] Bernard Loomer's understanding of linear and unilateral power,[102] Nancy Hartsock's and Charlene Wheeler's understanding of patriarchal power (the ability to compel, control, dominate, produce intended effects),[103] and Jean Baker Miller's understanding of dominating power (the ability to augment one's own force, authority, and influence to control and limit others).[104] This is positional power that the oppressed know very well because they live under its rule.

But there is another definition of power, which comes closer to the meaning Alfred Adler intended when he spoke in his early

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[100]Speed Leas and Paul Kittlaus, The Pastoral Counselor in Social Action (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), 37.

[101]Peter M. Blau, Exchange and Power in Social Life (New York: John Wiley, 1964).

[102]Bernard Loomer, "Two Conceptions of Power," Process Studies 6, no. 1 (1976): 5-32, suggests that linear power in its ideal form produces maximum effect on the other while receiving minimal influence on the self (p.8) and that it is never given up voluntarily because it is seen as limited in supply and a sign of weakness (p.11).

[103]Nancy C. M. Hartsock, "Political Change: Two Perspectives on Power," Building Feminist Theory: Essays From Quest, eds. Charlotte Bunch et al. (New York: Longman, 1981), 3, and Charlene E. Wheeler and Peggy L. Chinn, Peace and Power: A Handbook of Feminist Process (Buffalo: Margaretdaughters, 1984), 7-10.

[104]Jean Baker Miller, "Women and Power," Women and Therapy 6, nos. 1-2 (Spring-Summer 1987): 2.

work about all humans having a "will to power." This is personal power or the capacity to produce a change.[105] It is the ability to act so as to satisfy needs, accomplish tasks, and attain goals. In the case of women this has especially to do with women's fertility and physical integrity, with control over resources of paid labor, property, and education, and with women's networks for services and friendship.[106] Working-class women's powerlessness is not that they are prohibited from acting, but that they do not accrue the benefits of their acting.[107] Thus, women's power used for work, love, and building community may find its expression in any of four primary commitments (achievement, relationships, morality, or survival) that change in relative salience at different points throughout her life.[108]

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[105]Jean Baker Miller, "Women and Power," xxi. Virginia Satir, "Going Behind the Obvious: The Psychotherapeutic Journey," The Evolution of Psychotherapy, ed. Jeffrey Zeig (New York: Brunner Mazel, 1987), 60, distinguishes between "gun power" and "seed power."

[106]These three areas of important negotiating power in women's lives are noted in Lisa Leghorn and Katherine Parker, Women's Worth (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 22.

[107]Iris Marion Young, 141.

[108]Nancy Schlossberg suggests that retaining or changing commitments at crisis or transitional points is shaped by the variables of situation, self, resources, and strategies for change, in "Taking the Mystery Out of Change," Psychology Today 21, no. 5 (1987): 74-75: (1) The situation of crisis or transition may be positive or negative, sudden or gradual, unexpected or expected, brief or enduring, at a good or bad time, on time or off time not only in terms of how far one is from birth but also how far one is from death, single- or multi-stress, voluntary or imposed, individual- or cohort-specific. (2) The variable of self presents varying degrees of prior

Working-Class Women's Development

> We are the invisible women, the faceless women, the
> nameless women . . . the female half of the silent
> majority, the female half of the ugly Americans, the
> smallest part of the "little people." No one
> photographs us, no one writes about us, no one puts us
> on TV. No one says we are beautiful, no one says we
> are important, very few like to recognize that we are
> here. We are the poor and working-class white women of
> America, and we are cruelly and systematically ignored.
> All our lives we have been told, sometimes subtly,
> sometimes not so subtly, that we are not worth very
> much.[109]

In all societies life is divided into socially relevant

periods, with age distinctions systematized, with rights and

responsibilities distributed accordingly, according to Bernice

Neugarten. Even in the simplest societies there is a distinction

between childhood, adulthood, and old age, and in more complex

societies there is even more differentiation. The idea of

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experience, internal options, optimism, sense of self, and
control one experiences in regard to self-image and self-concept.
(3) The variable of resources may be financial, emotional,
social, physical, or spiritual. Neil Smelser contends that this
is the primary variable affecting the character of adaptation and
that the variations in kind and degree of resources are rooted
especially in class differences, in Smelser, 19-21. (4) And
finally the variable of available strategies for change includes
the ability to change the situation, to change the meaning of the
situation, or to change the self. According to Leonard Pearlin,
for example, coping with life strain can be done through
perceptual and cognitive devices enabling one to view one's
problems as relatively innocuous, the substitution of one
commitment for another, the use of escape through television or
substance abuse, the promise of better things to come,
understanding it as part of a divine plan, or seeking help, in
"Life Strains and Psychological Distress Among Adults," Themes of
Work and Love in Adulthood, eds. Neil J. Smelser and Erik H.
Erikson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 185.

[109]Debby D'Amico, "To My White Working Class Sisters,"
Marriage and the Family, eds. Carolyn Perucci and Dena B. Targ
(New York: David McKay, 1974), 116.

adolescence is a nineteenth century development, while youth and middle age are conceptual inventions of the mid-twentieth century. People are also living longer than formerly, which creates new phases, e.g., age-related widowhood.

The timing and the social context of events influences the meaning and therefore the significance that they will hold,[110] with incongruities in the socially expected life cycle pattern bringing either anxiety or a sense of freedom.[111] The different periods of development in the working-class woman's life are based on the changing events and transitions she undergoes, with ages not absolute but only relative to these events.[112] Transitions or turning points indicate the letting go of old roles and appropriation of new roles.[113]

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[110]Bernice Neugarten believes that it is not events but their timing that is crucial. See Neugarten, "Continuities and Discontinuities," 126-127. But the context of events, the cohort sharing in it, the coping resources available are also significant.

[111]Neugarten and Neugarten, "The Changing Meanings of Age."

[112]A typically middle-class age grading may be found in Margaret Gorman, "Life-Long Moral Development," Psychological Foundations of Moral Education and Character Development: An Integrated Theory of Moral Development, eds. Richard T. Knowles and George F. McLean (New York: University Press of America, 1986), 298, who suggests the following periods: Early Childhood (ages 3-6), Elementary (6-13), Adolescence (13-17), College (18-25), Young Adulthood (25-40), Middle Age (40-65), Late Adulthood (65+).

[113]Barbara J. Reinke, David S. Holmes, and Rochelle L. Harris, "The Timing of Psychosocial Changes in Women's Lives: the Years 25-45," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 48 (1985): 1354, 1360.

What follows is a portrait of working-class women's development gleaned from the Kansas City study data, although comparative insights of other research studies are included. The various time periods are less appropriately called stages (which focus on universal, invariant, hierarchical stages vis a vis complexity of thought) or ages (which focus on culturally relative and socially influenced expectations, obligations, status in role-related time blocks) than phases (which focus on the functional, task-oriented interaction of individual and society, conscious and unconscious movement toward more adequate ordering of life).[114] As the youngest Kansas City study interviewee was 20 years old, the data about childhood and adolescence from the Kansas City women is based on recollection. Childhood (approximately ages 0-2, 2-6, 6-12)[115]

From the time of birth there occurs in childhood the development of a particular perspective on reality. According to Minuchin and Fishman the parent-child family sub-system is where the child learns a sense of relative adequacy, what to expect from people with greater resources and strength, whether authority is rational or arbitrary, whether her needs are supported, how to communicate what she wants, what behaviors are

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[114]John Snarey, Lawrence Kohlberg, and Gil Noam, "Ego Development in Perspective: Structural Stage, Functional Phase, and Cultural Age-Period Models," Developmental Review 3, no. 3 (1983): 303-38.

[115]This developmental schema is informed by Phyllis A. Katz, "The Development of Female Identity," Becoming Female: Perspectives on Development, ed. Clare B. Kopp (New York: Plenum, 1979), 3-28.

rewarded or discouraged, and how to deal with conflict and negotiation. In addition the sibling sub-system is the locus of learning how to negotiate, cooperate, and compete, how to make friends and deal with enemies, how to learn from others, how to achieve recognition, and how to belong to a group and make choices.[116] From the beginning the child is learning the essentials of survival and of living among those on whom she is dependent and those with whom she is peer.

In the lower working class in particular, poverty means unpredictability. Even if parents have stable employment, it is not assumed or taken for granted. Children grow up fast and they do not romanticize childhood. When asked about the age and events at which childhood seemed to end for her, no middle-class woman in the Kansas City study mentioned an age less than 12 years old. And while the range of ages mentioned was great, one working-class woman said she "always felt like an adult," another said that she didn't "know that anything like that [the end of childhood] happened," and another said "at age 7 when [she] got lots of responsibilities for her three younger siblings." Answers about the end of childhood for middle-class women in the Kansas City study referred to starting to wear hose (age 12),

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[116]Salvador Minuchin and H. Charles Fishman, Family Therapy Techniques (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 18-19. After analyzing 50 cultures Barbara Rogoff et al. found that the tasks of childhood (especially ages 5-7) are to move to concrete operations, to join society, to be socially productive, and to display competence via achievement, in "Age of Assignment of Roles and Responsibilities to Children: A Cross-Cultural Survey," Human Development 18 (1975): 353-69.

disagreeing with her father and needing discipline (age 13), leaving home to find work (age 17), the unfamiliar surroundings of college (age 18), and starting to earn her own money by working (age 18). Working-class women mentioned responsibilities around the house cooking dinner (age 12), facing her mother's drinking and speaking her mind about what she would and wouldn't do (age 13), the time of her brother's death (age 13), starting menstruation (age 14), standing up to her parents (age 15), starting work (two at age 15, two at age 16, one at age 20), getting married (age 18), going to college (age 18), first date (age 19). While some of the transitions out of childhood are the same for working-class and middle-class women, there is a sense in which life is somewhat harder, the events more traumatic among the working class. Childhood is in many cases abbreviated.

Women in the Kansas City study were also asked if they had particular worries as a child. Three middle-class women said "no" but one recalled her alcoholic father on Friday nights and the other worried about doing well in school because she flunked the first grade. The working-class women recalled worrying about whether the family would have enough food at the end of the month, about not getting into trouble, about keeping the peace, about family fighting, about joining in and fitting in at school, about lack of money and clothes, about a sick grandmother who was "all I had," about being ugly. Two did not recall particular worries "though it was bad." Three said they were poor, but that

it wasn't too much of a worry because everybody they knew was poor. Working-class children are never too young to worry.

Rubin found that the working-class persons in her sample did not remember the details of their childhood so much as carrying a general sense of what it was like.[117] This is the opposite of what was discovered among the women in the Kansas City study. Middle-class women were far more vague about childhood memories than the working-class women. Rubin's working-class women and the middle-class women of the Kansas City study were likely to be from families where mothers did not work for pay, and where the option of the daughter not working was encouraged. Perhaps there is something about being gainfully employed in the public sector and the life events surrounding it that remains vividly in one's memory.

For women in the Kansas City study, recall of family decision-making patterns during childhood showed age related, though not class related patterns. Both working-class and middle-class women in late adulthood remembered their fathers as the primary decision-maker in the family, while nearly all women under age 55 remembered their mothers as the primary decision maker, although one father "made the decisions about money" and one father "tried to make decisions when he was sober." This rudimentary data suggests the need to explore further whether family decision making power shifted in the families of women born after the Depression.

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[117]Lillian Rubin, Worlds of Pain, 29-31.

For all children some basic structure to gender identity is in place by the age of 2, although some contend and I would agree, that it continues to be shaped in the adult workplace as well as in the home.[118] However, sex role socialization occurs intensively through peers and media from early to mid-childhood.[119] In the 1950s differentiation between sex roles was stereotypically sharpest and most traditional in lower-class families,[120] although the influence of working-class mothers in the 1980s is to raise their boys and girls more alike than do middle-class mothers.[121] This is true among blacks as well as whites,[122] and is the logical outcome of communal norms of survival, bonding, and self-defense among the poor and working class. The Kansas City study reveals that on The Values Scale of

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[118]Westwood, 6.

[119]Judith Worrell, "Life-Span Sex Roles: Development, Continuity, and Change," Individuals as Producers of Their Development: A Life-Span Perspective, ed. Richard M. Lerner and Nancy A. Busch-Rossnagel (New York: Academic Press, 1981), 340. Some believe that strong sex stereotypic behavior is common in the working class because such behavior pervades visual media, and television is the primary form of entertainment in the working class. See Betty Yorburg, Families and Societies: Survival or Extinction? (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 207.

[120]Meyer L. Rabban, "Sex Role Identification in Young Children in Two Diverse Social Groups," Genetic Psychological Monographs, 42 (1950): 81-158.

[121]Lorber et al., 483.

[122]Egalitarian black sex-role socialization is noted in Virginia Heyer Young, "Family and Childhood in a Southern Negro Community," American Anthropologist 72 (1970): 269-88; Diane K. Lewis, "The Black Family: Socialization and Sex Roles," Phylon 36 (1975): 221-37; Robert B. Hill, The Strengths of Black Families (New York: Emerson Hall, 1972), 18; and Ladner, 57.

21 values, middle-class women prioritized work and life values as most women do, giving most importance to: (1) personal development, (2) working conditions, and (3) altruism. Working-class women, however, prioritized work and life values somewhat differently: (1) personal development, (2) achievement, and (3) economic security. The latter two values of working-class women are unisex values, according to multiple national and international testings.[123] Working-class women actually hold less female stereotypic values in relation to work and to life in general. The key variable is that mothers who are not employed and have the least achievement aspirations for their children encourage greater sex role differentiation than mothers who are employed and have higher achievement aspirations for their children.[124]

A number of studies indicate that there is more autonomy and achievement orientation among women who struggled during childhood and adolescence with poverty, serious illness, early physical growth, family crisis, or some experience of loneliness or marginality. This is true of a sample of upwardly mobile

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[123]Dorothy D. Nevill and Donald Super, The Values Scale: Theory, Application, Research (Palo Alto: Consulting Psychologists Press, 1986), 11.

[124]Socialization of women not to be achievers, but rewarding them for doing well in school creates ambivalence, according to Lenore Weitzman, "Sex Role Socialization: A Focus on Women," Women: A Feminist Perspective, ed. Jo Freeman (Palo Alto: Mayfield, 1984), 219. It is an experience more common among middle-class than working-class girls, however.

working-class women who became college seniors,[125] as well as
women in the trades,[126] and of black women raised with the need
for self-defense in the midst of a society that is not structured
to meet their needs.[127] And it is confirmed in the Kansas City
study, in which the value placed on achievement ranks higher for
working-class women than it does for middle-class women on The
Values Scale. Zena Blau contends that working-class daughters
whose mothers came from middle-class origins are the highest
white working-class women achievers, although black mothers of
both the middle and working class instill even higher achievement
aspirations in their daughters than in their sons.[128] The
Kansas City study found that the mothers of high achievers were
twice as likely to be employed outside the home as were the

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[125]Ravenna Helson et al., "Lives of Women Who Became
Autonomous," Journal of Personality 53 (1985): 261.

[126]Walshok, 50-55.

[127]Robinson, 136.

[128]Zena Smith Blau, "Maternal Aspiration, Socialization, and
Achievement of Boys and Girls in the White Working Class,"
Journal of Youth and Adolescence 1 (1972): 35, 38. Elsie Smith
claims the differential educational aspirations toward black
children is a myth, although black girls do tend to have higher
actual achievement levels than black boys, in Elsie J. Smith,
"The Black Female Adolescent: A Review of Education, Career, and
Psychological Literature," Psychology of Women Quarterly 6
(1982): 264. Diane Lewis suggests that the myth is historically
formed. Black men who were achievers could be either craftsmen
or farmers, while achieving black women could primarily hope to
be school teachers (which required college) until the mid-1970's,
when black men began to command salaries higher than either black
women or white women. See Diane K. Lewis, "A Response to
Inequality: Black Women, Racism, and Sexism," The Signs Reader:
Women, Gender, and Scholarship, eds. Elizabeth Abel and Emily
Abel (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 179, 181.

mothers of low achievers. This was true of both working-class and middle-class women. However, the women's mothers were no more likely to be middle-class than working-class. All black women in the Kansas City study valued achievement as one of their top three ranked values. While more paths to achievement may be blocked for the black woman than the white working-class woman, once she pursues achievement, she is less anxious about it.[129]

Yet finally, parental attitudes and expectations as well as mother's work or fertility behavior are poor predictors of a daughter's behavior in terms of pursuing employment and building a family as an adult. Other factors include the daughter's evaluation and interpretation of her mother's behavior, her encounter with other significant persons, as well as new social options and incentives. Larger numbers of working-class women change their behavior from their childhood intentions than do middle-class women.[130] Perhaps this reflects their relative lack of control over their own lives, and the need always to modify goals to meet changing and often oppressive circumstances.

Among the working-class women in the Kansas City study, there were various expectations remembered from childhood that parents had for them as adults. This usually had to do with being a particular kind of person or doing something in a particular kind of way rather than simply engaging in a

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[129]See Walter R. Allen, "Family Roles, Occupational Statuses, and Achievement Orientations Among Black Women in the United States," _Signs_ 4, no. 4 (1979): 672f.

[130]Gerson, 47-67.

particular kind of behavior or role. While middle-class parents expected their daughters to marry, working-class parents expected their daughters to "marry a nice boy," to "marry a man with a good job who loved me," or to "be happily married." While middle-class parents often wanted their daughters to go to college, working-class parents wanted their daughters to "not get pregnant and quit school," to "go to college if possible to go up in the world," and to "not have too many kids." Working-class parents were clear about what would hold their daughters back, probably because it could and did happen so easily in their neighborhood.

While Lillian Rubin found in her study of working-class families that fewer working-class than middle-class children went to kindergarten or pre-school, in the Kansas City study 60 percent of both working-class and middle-class women did go to kindergarten. More extensive childhood education in the middle class is sometimes used as an explanation for faster rates of cognitive development in the middle class.[131] Interestingly, however, many more of the mothers of children who did go to kindergarten were employed (one-half) than were the mothers of children who did not go to kindergarten (one-eighth). While

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[131]Because experience can speed or slow maturation, economically disadvantaged children may be 1-3 years behind middle-class children in showing some concrete operational problem solving skills. But all children have the capacity for concrete operations and these skills eventually appear by age 10 or 11, according to Jerome Kagan and Robert Klein, "Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Early Development," American Psychologist 28 (1973): 949, 958.

Rubin claimed that the working class kept their children out of kindergarten to retain influence over them as long as possible,[132] in the Kansas City sample the variable of mother's employment may indicate that kindergarten provides a helpful child care alternative.

It is during childhood that working-class women as well as ethnic women begin to learn to live in two worlds, to develop a double consciousness, to become a hybrid person.[133] This becomes necessary in any situation of oppression by a dominant group. One develops a pattern or style of living among family, among kin, among one's own kind. But one develops another pattern or style for interaction with those unlike oneself, with the oppressor. One struggles to live in two worlds, and needing to learn such dual class and caste roles so early shortens childhood appreciably.[134]

Adolescence (approximately ages 12-18)

This is the period in which girls must adjust to the tremendous physical changes of menstruation, sexual body changes, sexual feelings, and dealing with physical attractiveness and

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[132]Lillian Rubin, Worlds of Pain, 86.

[133]Although the idea of hybrid identity in Gloria Powell's work refers to blacks, the idea can be extended to any who are marginal to white bourgeois culture. See Gloria Johnson Powell, "Growing Up Black and Female," Becoming Female: Perspectives on Development, ed. Claire B. Kopp (New York: Plenum, 1979), 29f.

[134]Powell, 48.

growth spurts.[135] Early adolescence is a time of struggling to

fit in, with concern about group identity or alienation. Late

adolescence, however, is the time for struggling with personal

identity and what to do with one's life.[136] It is then that

heterosexual girls shift their primary peer interests from

females to males. They think about dating, sexual expression,

and how these fit with issues of marriage and work. Cognitive

changes are also occurring with changes from concrete to abstract

thinking beginning in late adolescence.[137] It may even include

an experience of religious conversion, although poor and working-

class adolescents are less susceptible than middle-class

adolescents to proseletizers, because they often can recognize a

"con job."[138] It is a time of much exploration. Because of

these massive changes, this period is not merely one of conflict

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[135]One of the few studies of adolescence with a female sample is Elizabeth Douvan and J. Adelson, The Adolescent Experience (New York: Wiley & Sons, 1966).

[136]This distinction between early and late adolescence is noted in Ruth Josselson, "Ego Development in Adolescence," Handbook of Adolescent Psychology, ed. J. Adelson (New York: Wiley, 1980), 188-221. The middle-class idea of becoming a "self" in infancy, adolescence, and mid-life in Western culture is presumed in Peter Blos, "The Second Individuation Process of Adolescence," The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, vol. 22, ed. Anna Freud (New York: International Universities Press, 1967).

[137]Rogoff et al. Jean Piaget, "Intellectual Evolution from Adolescence to Adulthood," Human Development 15, no. 1 (1972): 1-12, believes that many reach formal operations in adolescence but it is dependent on aptitude and occupation.

[138]Norma Haan, "Adolescents and Young Adults as Producers of Their Development," Individuals as Producers of Their Development: A Life-Span Perspective, eds. Richard M. Lerner and Nancy A. Busch-Rossnagel (New York: Academic, 1981), 175.

and adaptation, but one of rapidly changing biological, social, psychological, religious, and task realities. Erik Erikson called this time of turmoil the "identity crisis," a process resolved with identity foreclosure or identity moratorium for many working-class women.[139] And it is generally a shorter time for working-class youth than for middle-class youth, many of whom enjoy the extended adolescence of university education.

For the women in the Kansas City study the transition from adolescence to adulthood was an important time. Several middle-class women mentioned the end of adolescence as the end of their freedom, but a number of working-class women saw the end of

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[139]Erikson, Identity. The men in Daniel Levinson's study attained a sense of self or identity achievement, and the women in Judith Bardwick's study drifted in identity diffusion. Similarly the style of life among lower middle-class high school graduates was found to be "complex" for boys (many roles and varied activities) and "diffuse" for girls (few roles and varied activities) in Lowenthal, Thurnher, and Chiriboga, 15. But the lives of working-class women highlight two other possible resolutions to the identity question. Identity foreclosure involves an understanding of self as the purveyor of parental or family heritage with commitments made from group loyalty rather than the individual searching for a private solution. Defining one's own identity, in fact, is seen by some who live in the midst of oppression as a luxury, e.g., see Dee Dee Risher, "Bread and Tortillas: A Dialogue of Women," The Other Side 4, no. 9 (1988): 37. It is seen by others, who live in tightly knit ethnic or religious groups, as non-existent, e.g., see Mary Sykes Wylie, "The Roots of Depression," Family Therapy Networker 13, no. 4 (1989): 9, for the absence of both adolescent identity crisis and mid-life crisis among the Amish. In identity moratorium, crises are ongoing and commitments are vague. Working-class women often examine their lives but see no choices open to them. Their "lack of identity" stems not from the fear of looking at oneself, but from the despair of looking and seeing few or no options. Their crisis never lets up. These four suggestions of identity resolution may be found in J. E. Marcia, "Development and Validation of Ego Identity Status," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 3 (1966): 551-58.

adolescence and the beginning of womanhood as the beginning of freedom, being responsible for herself, making her own decisions, being on her own, picking her own friends.[140] Of course a number of working-class women also saw the meaning of impending womanhood as "not much fun," as "doing dishes, housework, and taking care of kids," as "getting married and having kids," as "having to work and do everything for people," and as "being dominated by men" or "being boss while making a man think that he is boss." There is no uniform image of the transition from adolescence to adulthood among women, although it appears that the transition is much more the end of carefree and extended childhood among the middle class than among the working class. The transition from adolescence to adulthood was the time most frequently mentioned by women in the Kansas City study in response to the question, "if you could change one thing about your life, what would you change?" Answers included finishing college, not getting married so early, not having babies so early, and taking the time to find out "who I was and what I wanted." There is a sense of hurried tiredness among working-class women who reflect on their adolescence and young adulthood.

Generally in this culture children are adolescents until they take on an adult role. Normatively for poor and working-class women this is at the point of high school graduation and

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[140]When asked the worst stage of life, two-thirds of the working and lower middle-class women in Lowenthal's study said adolescence, while the men felt that the worst was yet to come in old age, in Lowenthal, Thurnher, and Chiriboga, 134.

subsequent employment and/or marriage. In some cases it may be extended to age 20 to include the delay of community college attendance (or 22 for the upwardly mobile who attend four-year colleges), or it may be shortened because pregnancy and parenthood roles take precedence. While in some cases working-class women in the Kansas City study left home a few years earlier than middle-class women, the differences were not significant. However, even if they remained in the home, working-class women did tend to get their first job earlier than middle-class women. For some this was as early as 15 or 16. In all cases but one among middle-class women the first job was not until after age 18.

All working-class girls are not uniformly different than middle-class girls, however. There are also different styles of being a working-class adolescent girl. While the remaining description of working-class adolescent girls does not emerge from the Kansas City study data, it is related to the Locus of Control - Locus of Responsibility framework which is central to both Chapters 2 and 5, to an understanding of how class shapes personality and how pastoral counseling of the working-class woman takes differing forms. Arthur Shostak's description of three types of working-class adolescent girls is both insightful and helpful.[141] They are the achievers, the accomodators, and the rebels.

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[141]Shostak, Blue Collar Life, 170-79.

The <u>achievers</u> make up the smallest group and are sometimes from suburban tract homes, the daughters of better educated, skilled workers. They delay marriage and curb sexual expression in order to expand their options.[142] They are upwardly mobile and try to behave as they believe middle-class girls do. When they don't measure up, they experience much psychological pain. They dissociate from the more traditional working-class accomodators and seek out the college-oriented crowd. But they are left belonging nowhere. While they are proud of their accomplishments, they are in an unfamiliar world and so are often fearful and suspicious. Their values revolve around achievement, autonomy, and respectability, and hence, they reveal the least degree of sex role socialization of any working-class adolescent girl. Traditional fathers do not often reward such achievement, however, so the achieving daughter may not have the male approval she seeks.[143]

Achievers who are not college-bound were given new options with government entitlement programs of the 1960s and 1970s which opened many traditionally male occupations to women, such as the trades. Mary Walshok describes the childhood and adolescence of these women. They were conscious of needing to take care of

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[142]Ira Reiss, "Social Class and Pre-Marital Sexual Permissiveness: A Re-Examination," <u>American Sociological Review</u> (1965): 753.

[143]Michael E. Lamb, Margaret Tresch Owen, and Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, "The Father-Daughter Relationship: Past, Present, and Future," <u>Becoming Female: Perspectives on Development</u>, ed. Claire B. Kopp (New York: Plenum, 1979), 107.

themselves, since life was not predictable and secure. They
assumed responsibility at an early age and knew they had to work
for any success and happiness they might get, although they never
felt victimized, abandoned, or abused. Unlike traditional women
who grew up watching their parents being victimized by economic
uncertainty and their mothers in untrustworthy or oppressive
relations with men, these non-traditional women had certain
security-giving experiences, such that their hard-living was
episodic and not oppressive.[144]

These achievers grew up embarrassed by their homes, their
second-hand or hand-made clothes and toys, and didn't have many
friends. They were not unhappy but felt different. They were
athletic tomboys, liked the outdoors, had opportunities to tinker
and work with tools, had an active interest in cars or boats, and
had freedom to move and explore especially if they were from a
rural or small town area. They were likable and competent girls
but not members of cliques or interested in girlish pursuits, not
preoccupied with their appearance or acceptance, and didn't date
much in high school. They grew up hearing the necessity of
financial stability, expected to work as adults, had a positive
image of working women in their mothers or other close female
relative, did not see their mothers as vulnerable without a man
or overshadowed by a man, but learned specific interests and
preferences in occupational knowledge and skills from men. These

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[144]Walshok, 59, believes that traditional women are
portrayed in Lillian Rubin's Worlds of Pain and in Joseph
Howell's Hard Living on Clay Street.

women often left home as early as possible and divided household duties equally with a live-in boyfriend or spouse. They never had the time or money for an elaborate domestic role. They could see alternatives to the norm. They had some self-esteem and were out to make their own security.[145]

Accomodators among the working-class female adolescent are often from the traditional homes of semi-skilled workers living in stable ethnic neighborhoods.[146] Their rebellion is mild, and they dream of marriage as a solution to financial problems, the need for safety, and not belonging.[147] Individual achievement is discouraged, especially among daughters. Their knowledge about sexuality comes from their mother, sisters, or other female relatives. Pre-marital sex is handled ambivalently, for "good girls don't do it," but good girls also do not take birth control pills. Hence, pregnancy is not an uncommon reason for getting married.[148] It not only resolves the ambivalent parental messages about birth control, but also resolves the experience of social powerlessness the working-class adolescent female experiences. Early marriage is expected, although many mothers primarily wish for their daughters that they would not have to

[145]Walshok, 8-34, 40, 50-86.

[146]Accomodators are called "routine seekers" in Herbert Gans, The Urban Villagers, 28-73.

[147]Lillian Rubin, Worlds of Pain, 50.

[148]In Rubin's study 44% of the 75 couples got married because the woman was pregnant. See Lillian Rubin, Worlds of Pain, 60.

marry so early were other options available.[149] The middle-class
and upper-class phenomenon of mothers being involved in
arrangements for courtship and marriage of their daughters is
generally missing in the lower socioeconomic classes and among
employed mothers.[150]

These girls are oriented to the high school social system
and are the ones who lose interest in academics as they gain
interest in boys. While some may attend vocational or technical
school after graduation, there is much underachievement in this
group. While they are more conflicted than any working-class
girl about juggling marriage and employment, they are less
conflicted than middle-class girls about this same dilemma.
Unless they have married a tradesman, they grow up knowing they
must find a way to be both wife and employee and usually have had
the role models to do so. Compared with their mothers the
adolescent cohort in the late 1960s worked earlier outside the
home, longer before marriage, longer before pregnancy and before
the birth of their first child. While their mothers may have

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[149]Some even believe that there is less disapproval from the
families and reference groups for early marriage (before age 18)
among the poor and working class than in the middle class,
because there are fewer expectations of extended training or
higher education. See Karen W. Bartz and F. Ivan Nye, "Early
Marriage: A Propositional Formulation," Journal of Marriage and
the Family 32 (1970): 265. Pre-marital sexual expression among
the working class is considered in Martin Weinberg and Colin
Williams, "Sexual Embourgeoisement? Social Class and Sexual
Activity: 1938-70," American Sociological Review 45 (1980), Table
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[150]John Allen Bruce, "The Role of Mothers in the Social
Placement of Daughters: Marriage or Work?" Journal of Marriage
and the Family 36 (1974): 494-95.

been factory workers or waitresses, the accomodators consider it an advancement to become clerical workers. They are pro-family and the transmitters of the working-class culture.

The third and last group of which Shostak speaks are the rebels.[151] They generally come from low-income and more disorganized households of undereducated laborers with uneven work histories living in crime-prone slums. Alcohol abuse and domestic violence are not uncommon.[152] These girls feel unprotected and friendless with their only source of stability being their mother or other female relative. They are often fearful of puberty, and while they may flaunt their sexuality and begin their sexual experiences earlier than accomodators, they

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[151]A portrait of the rebel may also be found in Studs Terkel, _Division Street: America_ (New York: Pantheon, 1967), 368-75, and in Herbert Gans, "Mean Streets: A Study of the Young Working Class," _Social Policy_ 4 (1974): 59-60. Rebels are considered those doing hard living in Lillian Rubin, _Worlds of Pain_, 32f.

[152]A 1979 study of 205 12-year old and 13-year old girls from 10 different schools in Memphis revealed that upper and middle-class girls in early adolescence related to drinking behavior while lower-class girls related to abstinence. Frequent alcohol use was related to inadequate feelings about how one acts, what one does, and about one's own body, state of health, physical appearance, skills, and sexuality. See J. Thomas Butler, "Early Adolescent Alcohol Consumption and Self-Concept, Social Class, and Knowledge of Alcohol," _Journal of Studies on Alcohol_ 43 (1982): 606. Whether this is related to the finding that 2/3 of middle-class and only 1/5 of lower-class children showed the "social dependency" of clinging or addiction to a particular person may be worth exploring. See Lee Rainwater, "A Study of Personality Differences Between Middle and Lower Class Adolescents," _Genetic Psychology Monographs_ 54 (1956): 3-86. Certainly there is alcoholism and addiction to relationships in the working class, but the absence of hyper-individualism and the support of extended kin networks may limit their occurrence in comparison to the middle class.

are not necessarily promiscuous. The high school drop-out rate
is highest in this group, for they seek escape from dreary
working-class jobs or illegal pursuits of theft or prostitution
by getting married.[153] Marriage becomes as much a medium of
survival and commodity exchange, as it is a way to meet needs for
intimacy. If marriage fails, having a child may provide the
pathway to survival and the need to be needed in a society that
acts as though it would rather do without you. Motherhood may
soothe the loneliness, helplessness, and anonymity of hard
living.[154] The need for a hybrid identity is least among the
working-class rebels, for they are not trying to impress anyone.
Their rebellion is a desperate search for dignity.

Many poor and working-class black girls of lowest family
income, according to Joyce Ladner, move through the menses rite
of passage between 12 and 15, are already becoming disillusioned
with men between 15 and 18, and have reached adulthood by 18
unless they have had a child earlier.[155] By 20 years of age, 45
percent of black women and 19 percent of white women have at
least one child. In 86 percent of black teen births and 30
percent of white teen births the mother is unmarried, perhaps due
to lack of information about sex, pregnancy, and contraception,
or to the need for family planning and abortion services, but

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[153]As many as 40% of blue collar youth dropped out of high
school in the mid-1960's, according to Seymour Miller as noted in
Vanfossen, 334.

[154]See Howell.

[155]Ladner, 187.

also due to low motivation to postpone parenting because of weak

aspirations for further education, few employment options or

plans, and little desire for children within marriage.[156] Ladner

suggests that this is partly because sex is viewed as a natural

rather than a moral issue in the black community, and in poorer

communities may be even be considered a medium of exchange.

Illegitimacy as sin is a middle-class phenomenon, according to

Ladner.[157]

The hybrid identity or double consciousness of any marginal

woman that begins to form in childhood takes fuller shape in

adolescence in the social system of junior high and high school.

The process of "sorting" is explained eloquently though painfully

by Tillie Olsen in a 1956 story in which Jeannie is talking to

her mother about her younger sister Carol and Carol's black

friend Parry:

> They're in junior high, Mother. Don't you know about
> junior high? How they sort? And it's all where you're
> going. Yes and Parry's colored and Carrie's white.
> And you have to watch everything, what you wear and how
> you wear it and who you eat lunch with and how much
> homework you do and how you act to the teacher and what
> you laugh at. . . . And run with your crowd.

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[156]Kristin Moor, Margaret C. Simms, and Charles L. Betsey,
Choice and Circumstance: Race Differences in Adolescent Sexuality
and Fertility (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1986).

[157]Ladner, 187. Neither black nor Puerto Rican women in
New York City between ages 16 and 25 associated abortion with
genocide. For minority males, however, progeny appeared to
represent an effort toward survival and power, whether in the
context of marriage or not. See Blanche R. Hughes, "Abortion:
Perception and Contemporary Genocide Myth: A Comparative Study
Among Low-Income Pregnant Black and Puerto Rican Women,"
Dissertation Abstracts International, 34 (1973): 3542A.

> How they sort. A foreboding of comprehension whirled
> within Helen [the mother]. What was it Carol had told
> her of the welcome assembly the first day in junior
> high? The models show How to Dress and How Not to
> Dress and half the girls in their loved new clothes
> watching their counterparts up on the stage -- _their_
> straight skirt, their sweater, their earrings,
> lipstick, hairdo -- "How Not to Dress, a bad reputation
> for your school." It was nowhere in Carol's
> description, yet picturing it now, it seemed to Helen
> that a mute cry of violated dignity hung in the air.[158]

Early adolescence is the time when poor and working-class children become more painfully aware of not being in the "in crowd" of the middle and upper middle classes. The pain is less acute only if all others are like themselves in their school or neighborhood. However, the media have expanded our neighborhoods appreciably. The weak association between self-esteem and social class in childhood becomes a modest association in adolescence.[159]

This sense of differentness is compounded if one's dawning gender identity is lesbian. The normative adolescent interest in the opposite sex does not occur among young lesbians, and their rite of passage begins with the emotional dissonance between heterosexual expectations and their own blossoming sexual feelings. If allowed into consciousness and explored, one's self-identification as "different" from most women can occur as early as adolescence among 40-55 percent of all women who later

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[158]Tillie Olsen, "Oh, Yes," _Tell Me a Riddle_ (New York: Dell, 1976), 63-64. Emphasis in original.

[159]See David H. Demo and Ritch C. Savin-Williams, "Early Adolescent Self-Esteem as a Function of Social Class: Rosenberg and Pearlin Revisited," _American Journal of Sociology_ 88 (1983): 763-74.

self-identify as lesbian.[160] In some ways the working-class
lesbian adolescent may feel less alone than her middle-class
counterpart, for it is normative for working-class adolescents to
retain many of their same-sex friends even while dating. But it
is everywhere a homophobic society and is no easier to "come out"
in the working-class community than in the middle-class
community. It is difficult for any adolescent to claim who she is
when she does not receive acceptance and support. These young
women seek out others in the heterosexual mainstream, or look
toward the days of young adulthood when they can additionally
find companionship and community in the bars, the military, or
the convent. The experience of the poor or working-class lesbian
is portrayed in one way as follows:

> The history of my brand of lesbianism is the story of
> women who ran from towns like the one I fled, who
> joined the army, navy, or air force or who were busted
> when discovered with another girl and thrown into juvie
> hall. Or it is a quieter story of women who form a
> culture different from the feminist one -- a life led
> in gay bars on Friday and Saturday nights if you have a
> lover, every night if you don't. It is about drinking
> too much and playing pool with style. It is an
> underground that runs through the phone company, the
> Teamsters Union, the Bank of America, and the grocery
> counters of this country.[161]

Regardless of the achievement or relational commitments of
lesbian adolescents, the experience of marginality is an intense
one.

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[160]Sasha G. Lewis, Sunday's Women: Lesbian Life Today
(Boston: Beacon, 1979), 24, notes studies done in 1969 (40%) and
in 1976 (55%).

[161]A. Hollibaugh, "The Sympathy of the Blood," Village Voice
(June 26, 1984): 22-25.

Working-class adolescents do not tend to make long-range career plans. Achievers and accomodators especially have learned that short-term planning helps organize the chaos of life, but even achievers do not easily learn that long-term planning could mean something other than getting one's hopes dashed by the exigencies of circumstance.

Young Adulthood (approximately ages 19-35)

If adolescence is a time of exploring and assimilating new experiences, young adulthood is a time of accomodating and consolidating.[162] It is a time of new opportunities, demands, and responsibilities. It is the time to assume the roles of being an adult, to be a worker, a lover, and a citizen. The "who am I?" question is answered in terms of the future -- "who am I becoming?" and "who will society let me become?"[163]

Entry into adulthood is accomplished by taking on one or more of several adult tasks, and in the middle class at least, by beginning to separate from one's family of origin. This separation is truncated, and sometimes never attempted, in the working class with more apparent on-going connection and perhaps even enmeshment than among middle-class young adults. Lillian Rubin suggests why:

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[162]Haan, "Adolescents and Young Adults as Producers of Their Development," 163.

[163]The differing interpretations in different life periods of the question "who am I?" is suggested in William M. Clements, "The Sense of Life Time in Human Development," Journal of Religion and Health 18 (1979): 88-92.

> There is no time for concern about the issues of their
> own growth and development that so pre-occupy the
> college-educated middle-class youth in this era, no
> time to wonder who they are, what they will do, how
> they can differentiate themselves from parents, how
> they can stand as separate, autonomous selves.
> Instead, early marriage and parenthood catapult them
> into adult responsibilities.[164]

Additionally, it is hard to be autonomous and separate from parents and other relatives on whom one must rely for child care or other exchanges of mutual aid in the midst of juggling work, family, and community roles.

Kandel notes that black working-class young adult women have a closer and more intense relationship with their mothers than do those in the white working class, although this depends on the ethnicity of the white women. Jewish working-class women are closer to parents than siblings, while the opposite is true of the Irish.[165] More black than white working-class young adult women want to be like their mothers.[166] Working-class young adult women are also less inclined to abandon their girl friends of adolescence after high school than are young women of the middle class. Retaining female friends is even more true if the working-class young woman delays marriage and is employed.[167]

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[164]Lillian Rubin, Worlds of Pain, 73.

[165]Andrew M. Greeley, "White Against White: The Enduring Ethnic Conflict," The White Majority, ed. Louise Kapp Howe (New York: Random House, 1970), 116.

[166]Denis B. Kandel, "Race, Maternal Authority, and Adolescent Aspirations," American Journal of Sociology 76, no. 6 (1971): 1009.

[167]Vivienne Griffiths, "Adolescent Girls: Transition From Girlfriends to Boyfriends," Women and the Life-Cycle: Transitions

As Bardwick and Douvan have suggested, a minority of women (15 percent) may have achievement objectives, usually in order to be self-sufficient financially.[168] But most working-class young women want some part of the wife and mother roles, whether additionally or alternatively. Among working-class women especially, these roles provide some of the independence and privileges of adulthood. They are less ambivalent about the role and do not devalue it in the same way that many middle-class women do, because their vocational alternatives to being wife and mother are limited. Except among the achievers, there tends to be more investment in family than work, because so much working-class employment is not found to be intrinsically meaningful.

Working-class women are likely to be married by their early 20s, and one who has not married by then is more likely to marry the more education she has.[169] Education delays the occurrence of all life events, with the net effect of shortening the child bearing period as well. Hence, the more education a woman has the fewer number of children she is likely to have.[170] But as

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and Turning Points, eds. Patricia Allatt et al. (New York: St. Martin's, 1987), 60, 62.

[168]Bardwick and Douvan, "Ambivalence," 234.

[169]Andrew Cherlin, "Postponing Marriage: The Influence of Young Women's Work Expectations," Journal of Marriage and Family 42 (1980): 363.

[170]Graham B. Spanier, Patricia A. Roos, and James Shockey, "Marital Trajectories of American Women, Variations in the Life Course," Journal of Marriage and Family 47 (1985): 1002. Especially in the rural South it is also true that the poorer the family the more children in the family, according to Mark Abrahamson and Ephraim Mizruchi, Stratification and Mobility (New

noted by Joyce Trebilcot, all women live with the expectation that they will reproduce patriarchy in the form of children and care for the men who create and maintain it.[171]

While Rubin found that the working-class women she interviewed were often pregnant at a younger age than middle-class women, this was not true of the women in the Kansas City study. Those who attended college in both the working class and middle class did delay pregnancy, however. Especially among the younger women the availability of birth control in the 1960s and 1970s may have had an effect on the family planning of the working class as well as the middle class in the Kansas City study. Women are expected to have children in both the working class and the middle class, although in the working class it is assumed that family is required for survival. Indeed the primary life theme identified by young adult working-class women in the Kansas City study was that of survival, while the theme of the young adult middle-class woman was achievement.

Because so many in the working class are preoccupied with the physical realities of paying the rent and buying food and because all marginalized persons learn to trust actions more than words, it should not be surprising that many working-class women have a physical, visual, action-oriented style of learning and use this with their children. In matters of discipline of

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York: Macmillan, 1976), 218.

[171]Joyce Trebilcot, ed. <u>Mothering: Essays in Feminist Theory</u> (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Allanheld, 1983), 1.

children, some studies find that working-class parents more

consistantly use physical punishment than the isolation, guilt,

and threatened loss of love used by the middle class.[172] But

other studies do not confirm this as a general rule.[173] Several

studies find working-class parents more severe in toilet training

and sex instruction, with higher expectations of household

neatness and school achievement than middle-class parents.[174]

Rubin suggests this is because working-class parents believe that

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[172]Bronfenbrenner, "Socialization and Social Class Through Time and Space," 424. Bronfenbrenner's findings are confirmed by Martha Sturm White, "Social Class, Child-Rearing Practices, and Child Behavior," American Sociological Review 22 (1957): 704-12. Authoritarianism and power assertion over children is more indirect in the middle class and more direct in the working class, according to Martin L. Hoffman, "Personality, Family Structure, and Social Class as Antecedents of Parental Power Assertion," Child Development 34 (1963): 869-84.

[173]Kohn, "Social Class and the Exercise of Parental Authority," 300-303, claims that working-class mothers are more likely to punish sons than daughters physically, and that they may punish their children physically for fighting with friends which brings about outside (non-family) complications. A middle-class mother may punish a child physically if she is unsure of the child's intent or of her own mothering; a working-class mother may punish a child physically if she is upset by the child's action given the situation. (p. 314) However, there was no relationship between social class and parental use of psychological vs. physical punishment for aggressive behavior in children, according to Leonard Eron, Leopold Walder, Romolo Toigo, and Monroe Lefkowitz, "Social Class, Parental Punishment for Aggression, and Child Aggression," Child Development 34, no. 4 (1963): 849-67.

[174]Eleanor E. Maccoby and Patricia K. Gibbs, "Methods of Child-Rearing in Two Social Classes," Readings in Child Development, eds. William E. Martin and Celia B. Stendler (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1954), 381-86. See also Robert E. Sears, Eleanor Maccoby, and H. Levin, Patterns of Child Rearing (New York: Row, Peterson, 1957); and Glen H. Elder, "Structural Variations in the Child Rearing Relationship," Sociometry 25, no. 3 (1962): 241-62.

lives of struggle or deviance are an immediate possibility for their children if they do not keep a close watch with strict rules.[175] But another study does not confirm this, in fact concludes the opposite.[176] These research differences might tell us that parental expectations and behavior changed greatly in the decade from post-World War II to the mid-1950s, but more probably they tell us that there are many types of working-class people.[177]

It may be true that middle-class parents place greater emphasis on early training for individual achievement than working-class parents, and that while both classes make achievement demands on high achieving adolescents, middle-class parents are much more likely to make achievement demands on low achieving adolescents than are working-class parents.[178] But the contention of this study is that the reason for class differences is not retarded maturation at psycho-sexual, psycho-social, cognitive, or moral stages, but appropriate adaptation to

[175]Lillian Rubin, Worlds of Pain, 54.

[176]Alison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst, "Social Class and Color Differences in Child Rearing," American Sociological Review 11 (1946): 698.

[177]Robert J. Havighurst and Alison Davis, "A Comparison of the Chicago and Harvard Studies of Social Class Differences in Child Rearing," American Sociological Review 20 (1955): 438, concludes that the Chicago mothers in the Davis study were lower working-class than the Boston (Harvard) mothers in the Sears study.

[178]Glen H. Elder, Adolescent Achievement and Mobility Aspirations (Chapel Hill: Institute for Research in Social Science, 1962).

the demands of economic life.[179] Those who are pushed to take orders and conform, to work quickly and accurately in employment (the working class), likely demand it at home from their children. Those for whom autonomy in employment is characteristic (the middle class) or who are unemployed are more comfortable with more permissive child rearing. Women who must juggle full-time work and full-time homemaking have less time and energy to devote to patient, relationship-centered development. Certain things must simply get done so that the family can survive.

Some working-class women remain single, although according to Daniel Rossides there are relatively fewer unmarried women in the working class than in the middle and upper classes.[180] Actually lesbians and single heterosexual women of the working class are remarkably similar with the exception that they have a differing sexual preference, lesbians report a greater degree of satisfaction in intimate relationships emotionally, sexually, in terms of interests and friendships, and lesbians are vocationally self-determining to a greater degree than are single heterosexual women.[181] Sometimes lesbians choose employment in which they

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[179]The decline since 1948 in the number of working-class women who breast feed their children is probably due to increased employment among this same population, according to Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Socialization and Social Class Through Time and Space," 424.

[180]Daniel Rossides, The American Class System (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976), 177.

[181]Andrea K. Oberstone and Harriett Sukoneck, "Psychological Adjustment and Life Style of Single Lesbians and Single

experience greater control over their work life, such as in the trades, so as not to live with constant fear and lying about their sexual preference. But the nature of most working-class jobs is that they are cut off from one's control and one's personhood, so one's personal life is one's own. Some middle-class lesbians even become downwardly mobile so as to live a less fearful life, for society cares less if a factory worker as opposed to a teacher is lesbian. Whether heterosexual or lesbian, however, when men are absent, women tend to become managers of their own and their familiy's lives regardless of societal gender roles.

The transition into adulthood through employment may occur among working-class women with several motivations, most commonly for subsistence and survival, for human dignity and security, for social approval, or from a sense of duty. Those who work for increased status and the good life are likely to be upwardly mobile, and those who are in the middle class more commonly work for creative fulfillment and sense of pleasure or significance.[182] This demarcation of reasons for working held true among the women in the Kansas City study. Only working-class women mentioned working in order to survive, although a few middle-class women mentioned beginning to work in order to support themselves. Working-class women were the only ones to

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Heterosexual Women," Psychology of Women Quarterly 1, no. 2 (1976): 172-88.

[182]Madonna Kolbenschlag, Kiss Sleeping Beauty Good-Bye (New York: Bantam, 1979), 79.

talk about work in terms of their improved sense of self-confidence, self-esteem, self-respect, and sense of worth and dignity. One working-class woman even claimed that when she is not working she "is not a person and [doesn't] belong in the world," while another remarked that if she didn't work she would feel like she "didn't fit in." Marx's belief that work makes humans human is ironically confirmed by these working-class women, women whose jobs have been considered more dehumanizing than those of the middle class. The alternatives, however, which are to be a homemaker in a working-class household with limited funds and personal power or to engage in illegal or immoral means of support, may help explain the responses. Dignity is not absolute but is relative to one's life experience. Several women in the Kansas City study shrugged their shoulders in exasperation when asked why they worked, for they didn't feel like they had any choice.

The economic recession and high unemployment of the 1980s, however, have caused a broken transition for many working-class youth seeking work. Unemployment contributes to various forms of rebellion but also to depression, low self-esteem, substance abuse, and suicide.[183] Options are limited and the resources of

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[183]Christine Griffin, "Broken Transitions: From School to the Scrap Heap," Women and the Life Cycle, eds. Patricia Allatt et al. (New York: St. Martin's, 1987), 81, 86.

a normally supportive kin network are strained and pushed to the limit during times of economic downturn.[184]

Whether or not a woman works outside the home and for how long is an extremely complex matter.[185] Studies identify various points in the family life cycle at which women enter the labor market. Able-bodied single women usually work, unless they are care-takers for handicapped or elderly kin. Working-class single women with children, whether never married or formerly married, generally work unless they live with extended family that allows full-time mothering. Because of the declining ratio of black men to black women (95.0 per 100 in 1940 declining to 90.8 per 100 in 1970) black women are more often single, more often work, and are more often heads of household than white women.[186] Separation and divorce also have much influence on labor force participation. While the arrival of children has the greatest influence on the direction and continuity of women's employment

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[184]Glen H. Elder, Jeffrey Liker, and Bernard Jaworski, "Hardship in Lives: Depression Influences from the 1930's to Old Age in Post-War America," Life-Span Developmental Psychology: Historical and Generational Effects, eds. Kathleen McCluskey and Hayne W. Reese (Orlando: Academic, 1984), 196.

[185]Helen Roberts' suggestion for a life-span approach to women's development is to see them as employed either part-time or full-time, with or without domestic responsibilities (four groups) and women not in paid work in five groups (no children, youngest child who is 0-4, 5-10, 11-15, 16+). The limits of this definition is the neglect of care of husband, handicapped, and elderly. See Helen Roberts, "The Social Classification of Women: A Life-Cycle Approach," Women and the Life-Cycle: Transitions and Turning Points, eds. Patricia Allatt et al. (New York: St. Martin's, 1987), 43.

[186]Diane K. Lewis, "A Response to Inequality: Black Women, Racism, and Sexism," 189.

in young adulthood, marriage (including separation and divorce) has the greatest influence on women's employment later in the life cycle.[187]

It is also not uncommon for married working-class women to engage in paid employment, as reflected in the fact that two-thirds of all married working women have husbands who are in working-class occupations.[188] The married woman is more likely to enter the labor force before any children arrive and after the last child has been born than she is in the midst of the child-bearing cycle. Her spouse's income has little to do with her labor force participation before children come along, with the opportunities in the labor market having a much greater influence, but her spouse's income is a strong determinant to her labor force participation during the child-bearing period of the family's life-cycle. After the birth of the last child there is a greater sense of a woman's <u>choosing</u> to work than is the case during the child-bearing period, where there is a tendency simply to work if one has to and not work if one doesn't have to. But women do not generally enter and leave the labor force with each new child. Working-class women tend either to work or not to work, whether part-time or full-time.[189] In the study of

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[187]Elizabeth Bird and Jackie West, "Interrupted Lives: A Study of Women Returners," <u>Women and the Life Cycle: Transitions and Turning Points</u>, eds. Patricia Allatt et al. (New York: St. Martin's, 1987), 178.

[188]U.S. Bureau of the Census, <u>Current Population Reports: A Statistical Portrait of Women in the U.S. 1978</u>, 66.

[189]Waite, 288-89.

Lowenthal and colleagues in the early 1970s, as many as 80 percent of the women who worked, worked full time.[190]

Middle Adulthood (approximately ages 35-50)

According to Bernice Neugarten, an evaluation and introspective reflection can begin in middle age, although it is not inevitable and can be resisted. It provides one with a sense of a life or life-cycle, where one begins re-telling, evaluating, and re-interpreting one's life story.[191] In Daniel Levinson's theory of adult male development, one moves to various stable periods only after the reflection and evaluation of transitional phases, in which questions about objectives, values, commitments, and choices are considered. It is a time of answering the "who am I?" question in terms of the present -- "I am what I am producing." Judith Bardwick suggests that a larger number of women than men will evade an evaluation of their lives, because such an assessment would heighten their awareness that they do not determine their life style.[192] This is often true of the poor and working class as well.[193] The reason this evaluation process may be avoided among the working-class woman is tellingly put forth by Tillie Olsen in her 1953 story "I Stand Here Ironing."

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[190]Lowenthal, Thurnher, and Chiriboga, 5.

[191]Bernice Neugarten, "Continuities and Discontinuities of Psychological Issues Into Adult Life," 123-124.

[192]Bardwick, "The Seasons of a Woman's Life," 37.

[193]Lowenthal, Thurnher, and Chiriboga, 176.

> You think because I am her mother I have a key, or that
> in some way you could use me as a key? She has lived
> for nineteen years. There is all that life that has
> happened outside of me, beyond me. And when is there
> time to remember, to sift, to weigh, to estimate, to
> total? . . . I will become engulfed with all I did or
> did not do, with what should have been and what cannot
> be helped.[194]

The self-evaluation of the middle class is more extensive and introspective because there is time, and the results of such reflection reveal that one has had a measure of control over one's life course. Yet, the life theme identified by the middle adulthood working-class women in the Kansas City study was that of helping others. They had moved beyond the theme of survival, even though some were single parents and struggling economically, to a point of feeling satisfaction in helping and guiding other people even outside of their family circle. This confirms Erikson's belief that the activity of caretaking and caring are the virtue and strength of maturity.

Midlife is also a time to evaluate one's primary adult relationship. When the women in Rubin's sample were asked what they valued most in their husbands they said, "He's a steady worker, he doesn't drink, he doesn't hit me." Rubin then notes that middle-class women mention none of these values, but rather intimacy values (sharing and communication) and status values (comforts and prestige of husband's job).[195] Class differences in spousal valuing held true among women in the Kansas City study

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[194]Olsen, "I Stand Here Ironing," Tell Me a Riddle, 9.

[195]Lillian Rubin, Worlds of Pain, 93.

as well, although compassion, support, and communication in one's spouse are valued by working-class as well as middle-class women. But middle-class women tended to value attributes of being -- a good mate is "a person with good standards and a good mind" or is "supportive, kind, considerate, and even-tempered" or is "patient" or is "emotionally supportive, a good friend and partner." Working-class women, on the other hand, also included action-oriented attributes -- a good mate "stands by you through good times and bad" or he "helps carry the load, loves me and shows it" or is "someone to talk things out with and work things out with, someone who respects me" or being good mates means "working together and being true to each other."

Because marriage in the working class occurs earlier and sometimes under more adverse circumstances than in the middle class, the rate of divorce is also higher, whether occurring in young adulthood or middle age.[196] The single parent families which result, experience the need to accomplish the same tasks as two-parent families only with fewer people. Hill believes that single parent families thus experience more and longer critical transitions between periods of equilibrium. And then single parents who remarry experience even more disorder than those who stay single.[197]

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[196]Desertions and separations without formal divorce are more class related than divorce according to Roach, Gross, and Gursslin, 440.

[197]R. L. Hill, "Life-Cycle Stages for Types of Single-Parent Families: of Family Development Theory," Family Relations 35 (1986): 28.

The much publicized "empty nest" syndrome of women takes a different form in the middle and working classes. Because most working-class women are employed and must juggle two full-time jobs, children leaving home is often some relief. For the mother who is unemployed and for the age cohort born early in the twentieth century with motherhood as a strong source of identity, it is a greater crisis.[198] The only women for whom nurturance and growth of children was the central life-theme mentioned among women in the Kansas City study were the unemployed women of both the working class and the middle class. Women tend to value what they have most time to spend doing.

Late Adulthood (approximately age 50+)

The life tasks of late adulthood include adjustment to menopause, retirement of spouse and self, grandparenting, care for parents, one's own aging and death, with these adjustments becoming more difficult the lower the socioeconomic class.[199] As women become freed of roles of mother and wife, they often display increased strength, energy, and independence. Especially in ethnic neighborhoods they may become midwives, guides, and advisors of the young, transmitting their wisdom through oral

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[198]Reported in Faver, 437.

[199]In the mid-1960's 50-year olds were found to have a more difficult time with adjustment than either 40-year olds or 60-year olds. The upper middle class adjusted best, the lower middle and working class adjusted in an average way, and the lower class adjusted poorly. See Robert Peck and Howard Berkowitz, "Personality and Adjustment in Middle Age," Personality in Middle and Late Life, eds. Bernice L. Neugarten et al. (New York: Atherton, 1964), 23, 27.

traditions.[200] Among the working-class women in late adulthood

in the Kansas City study, the primary life theme identified,

however, was no longer that of helping others, but of learning.

They never really felt like they had "chosen" a theme to live

out, but given the cards they were dealt in life, they sought to

learn from it all. And while there is some evidence for a

decline in emotional complexity with advancing age, there is no

apparent decline in happiness across the adult life course for

the working class and lower middle class at least up to pre-

retirement.[201]

According to Vira Kivett, the key variables in the

continuing autonomy of older rural women are health and access to

transportation.[202] When these become limited, women become more

dependent. A study of Slavic women born between 1900 and 1925

indicates that while losses are inevitable, they are easier to

manage and self-pity, nervousness, and depression are less likely

when one has one's health, an intact extended family, a social

peer network, financial security, and a meaningful purpose to

life.[203] While friendships are important throughout the life of

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[200]Stephanie A. Demetrakopoulos, "Life Stage Theory,
Gerontological Research, and the Mythology of the Older Woman:
Independence, Autonomy, and Strength," Anima 8 (1982): 90.

[201]Lowenthal, Thurnher, and Chiriboga, xiii.

[202]Vira Kivett, "Rural Frail Older Women: Implications of
Policy and Planning," a paper to be published in The Journal of
Minority Aging, cited in Demetrakopoulos, 92.

[203]Corinne Azen, "Ethnic Culture, Religion, and the Mental
Health of Slavic Women," Journal of Religion and Health 18, no. 4
(1979): 298-307.

the working-class woman, they become especially important in later adulthood. Friendships are a mark of building community which may transcend the vicissitudes of work and love.[204] They may have either reactive functions (power, status, commonality, gregariousness) or interactive functions (desire for mutual compatibility, assistance, intimacy), with the interactive functions gaining ascendancy with advancing age.[205] In a study in the mid-1960s Bernice Neugarten found that women had higher ratings on intimacy than men, especially among those in late adulthood, and the working class and lower middle class had higher ratings than the lower class and the upper middle class.[206] This may well be due to the wider networks of kin who are friends in the working class. All too often middle-class women understand their best friend to be their husband. When he dies, her friendship network is not as vast as that of the working-class woman.

Death can be quite difficult, whether that of loved ones or one's own, but it is often not the greatest enemy in the working class. Worse than death is lack of dignity, respect, and

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[204]I. Rosow, "Old People, Their Friends and Neighbors," American Behavioral Scientist 14 (1970): 59-69. Women who returned to work after retirement stressed social reasons more often than men did, according to Dean Morse, Anna Dutka, and Susan Gray, Life After Early Retirement: The Experiences of Lower Level Workers (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Allanheld, 1983), 97.

[205]Sandra Candy et al., "Developmental Exploration of Friendship Functions in Women," Psychology of Women Quarterly 5 (1981): 459.

[206]Bernice L. Neugarten et al. Personality in Middle and Late Life (New York: Atherton, 1964), 12.

mutuality. Josephine Hunter, an aging Southern black sharecropper believes that we have it all backwards, that we should remember that "the Bible says to weep at a birth and rejoice at a death, cause this is a hard, hard world."[207] Working-class women in the Kansas City study not uncommonly said that they want to die before becoming a burden to someone else, because they know only too well what burdens in life feel like. This is quite different from the middle-class women who fear being dependent or losing control as death approaches. The great tragedy and suffering around the experience of death in the working class is that it often comes too early, and results from systemic assaults on one's dignity and wholeness.

According to Albert Szymanski, white working-class women are 2.04 times more likely to die in a given year than white middle-class women, and 60 percent of those between ages 25 and 64 die of poverty related illness.[208] The infant mortality rate is higher in the working class and more working-class mothers see their sons killed in war than do middle-class mothers. White working-class women are 1.2 times more likely to die of cancer, 2.4 times more likely to die of heart disease, 2.6 times more likely to die of hypertension, and 3.5 times more likely to die of diabetes than middle-class white women.[209] Some of this

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[207]Buss, 48.

[208]Szymanski, 301.

[209]Evelyn Kitagawa and Philip Hauser, Differential Mortality in the U.S. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 71, 91.

variation in death rates is due to downward mobility that illness and unemployment cause, but it is also due to greater stress and trauma of divorce, deaths of close relatives, violent crimes, loss of jobs and homes,[210] and having fewer resources to deal with the stress. When the health of aging mothers begins to fail, working-class children wait longer to have their mother move in and she is more incapacitated when she does because working-class families are generally more cramped for space.[211]

Women in the Kansas City study confirmed the greater numbers of losses and vividness with which each loss creates suffering among working-class women compared to middle-class women. Working-class women in the Kansas City study mentioned suffering from living in single parent families, having their home robbed, having a breakdown, and they mentioned alcoholic parents, the death of siblings, and the death of children. Middle-class women mentioned divorce and racism, but also that they really didn't endure much suffering.

The "who am I?" question is answered in late adulthood in terms of the past --"what is the meaning of who I have been?" and one finds in late adulthood a number of ways of understanding the nature of successful accomplishments: assertive competence (direct evaluation of competence), social comparison (standing in

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[210]Szymanski, 298, 305.

[211]Marsden Abrams and Sheila Abrams, "Liberators, Companions, Intruders, and Cuckoos in the Nest: A Sociology of Caring Relationships over the Life Cycle," Women and the Life Cycle, eds. Patricia Allatt et al. (New York: St. Martin's, 1987), 199, 202.

relation to others), task competence (objective demands of the task judged by degree of effectance, autonomy, power, mastery resulting), and collective competence (contribution to group goal or feeling).[212] None of the women in the Kansas City study, whether working-class or middle-class, understood success in terms of "social comparison," wherein success meant someone else did less well or failed. All understood success personally rather than positionally, and none revealed a "fear of success" when defined in this way.

When success was understood as "collective competence" among women in the Kansas City study, it was only by working-class women. For example, one working-class woman felt that not only the rich succeed but "you can be poor and be successful at living, at getting along with people." Another working-class woman understood her own success at setting and reaching goals as something that arose not from within her but from the requirements of the workplace and "everybody pulling together for the same thing." Collective implications of failure can also be detected in one working-class woman's understanding of failure as "letting someone down." There is a clear sense that success can only be properly so called when it benefits the group rather than an isolated individual.

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[212]Joseph Veroff, Lou McClelland, and David Ruhland, "Varieties of Achievement Motivation," Women and Achievement: Social and Motivational Analysis (Washington, D.C.: Hemisphere Publishing, 1975), 200.

Only working-class women in the Kansas City study attributed success or failure to the environment or fate, confirming the locus of control studies cited earlier. Two unrelated working-class women suggested that "success is hard work plus luck, failure is hard work plus no luck (or bad luck)." A third working-class woman felt that failure was when "things just don't work out as planned." And a fourth working-class woman, who in her childhood and adolescence came from the depths of poverty, felt that "failure can come from the environment, from lack of role models as much as from lack of skills or not using your God-given talents." There is a realisitic ability to understand success as more than an individualistic setting and attaining of goals among many working-class women. The reality of the powerlessness which they experience in the world shapes their consciousness of success and failure in some profound ways.

Emerging Insights on Life-Span Development

Freud suggested that the primary tasks of adult development are to work and to love. Adler felt this was too individualistic and added "social interest" to the list. In other words, it is important that fully functioning humans develop the capacity to be workers, lovers, and citizens. This is confirmed in the experience of the working-class women in the Kansas City study. When asked what they would do if given a million dollars, four said they would give for some social cause whether that was "to colleges," for "homes for the homeless," or for some "cause of

freedom." Four other working-class women said they would give some of the money to their church. Middle-class women mentioned none of these targets for their money but rather home, family, and investments.

The experiences of working-class women as revealed in the Kansas City study and literature on working-class women's lives, however, suggest that in addition to these three tasks (to work, to love, to express social interest), two additional ones are of importance. One is the task of learning. Because the predominant understanding of the life span is undergirded by bourgeois ideology, the status of student tends to be relegated to the childhood and adolescent years of formal education. But working-class women are keenly aware of the need to be learners throughout all of life. When asked what they would identify as the primary theme emerging from the events of their lives thus far, a 28-year old working-class woman responded with "trying to improve." A working-class woman who is 46-years old said "there are things I don't have control over. We're sent here to learn lessons, and I've learned patience." A 67-year old woman saw the pervasive theme of "trying to get at the truth, to learn, to better myself so as to rise above the not so nice things of my childhood." And a 77-year old working-class woman said that she wished she had brains because she "would like to open up some new thinking on macrobiotics, but [she is] not sure enough of [herself]." She then concluded, "I'm a learner though."

Learning is important to working-class women partly because the ideology of bourgeois culture suggests that one can move up and be somebody if one knows enough. But education is also something that no one can take away from you. Being deprived of advanced formal education, working-class women also sense that their own development can only proceed to the degree that they continue to understand and integrate the world and events around them. This is more true the older working-class women become, the more free they are of parenting and worker roles. Learning becomes a way to attain a measure of dignity, a way to break out of one's private existance to communal and shared life, a way to infuse life into mere survival. What the working class may have to teach the middle class is the importance of learning as a life-long activity rather than being a stage related task, and that learning is part of the essence of what it means to be a developing human being. In this sense it is not merely a privilege but is a right of all.

The same is true for leisure and rest.[213] Predominant bourgeois ideology suggests that the time of leisure is during childhood and retirement, although an important piece of New Class ideology suggests the importance of leisure as the center of life for which one works. This New Class ideology, of course, reflects the alienation of work from its inherent meaningfulness

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[213]Anita Louise Spencer, _Seasons: Women's Search for Self Through Life's Stages_ (New York: Paulist, 1982), 7, suggests that the most important choices in adult life have to do with family, work, community life, politics, religion, and friendships.

thus perpetuating further worker alienation, domination, and oppression. When the women in the Kansas City study were asked what they would do if given a million dollars, many said what the interviewees in Lillian Rubin's study of working-class families said: they would pay off their bills. Additionally, however, women in the Kansas City study also said they would spend it not only for a social cause, as described above, but also for leisure. While middle-class women would invest it, divide it with their families, or spend it on their homes, working-class women said they would travel or have fun making people happy. Leisure and rest are seen as providing liberation from domination to dignity, liberation from privacy to community, liberation from survival to life. Because there is nothing leisurely about working-class employment, these people are keenly aware of the need for getting away from it all, of how important rest is for total development. The non-purposiveness and trust so characteristic of rest and play also provide the necessary conditions for creativity, which involves the whole self. Rest and play serve a unifying function and this is a special yearning for the working-class woman who must live with a hybrid identity.

Thus, throughout the life span the tasks are not only to work and to love, but also to build community, to learn, and to play or rest. The problem with developmental stage theory is that these tasks are assigned to differing and separate life phases. Childhood is understood as the time of play and learning, adolescence as the time of learning and loving

mutually. Young adulthood is understood as the time of working and loving procreatively, and older adulthood as the time of resting once again. The lives of working-class women suggest, however, that these tasks are not age-related but are necessary throughout all of life.

From the Kansas City study we know that working-class women make decisions contextually, not because they control the province of personal relationships as Carol Gilligan claims, but because of the need to be flexible in the midst of juggling so many tasks at once. The question then becomes, in whose voice and for whose benefit are decisions of working-class women's lives made? To this issue we now turn.

CHAPTER 4

Working-Class Women and Moral Development

> The issue of morality may prove to be the most vital of
> all in the dialogue between psychology and theology . .
> . the contemporary concern over morality in both
> psychology and theology may open the doors to
> collaboration in the most vital enterprise of our
> society.[1]

Twentieth century research on the psychology of morality in general and on moral development in particular suggests that women have a perspective on morality not captured in classical theories, that women are different from men not only psychologically but also morally.[2] And just as psychological developmental theories, understood hierarchically, are critiqued herein from a class perspective, so too do moral development theories, understood hierarchically, receive this same critique.

But women are not merely different from men -- albeit an important conclusion to a scientific question. As Sondra Farganis has claimed, "What it means to be a woman _is_ a moral, not a scientific question."[3] Certainly the oppressed are not the most moral but their perspective on life and on change is often

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[1]E. Mansell Pattison, "Psychology," _Christ and the Modern Mind_, ed. R. W. Smith (Downers Grove, Ill.: Inter-Varsity Press, 1972), 200-201.

[2]See Gilligan, _In a Different Voice_.

[3]Sondra Farganis, _The Social Reconstruction of the Feminine Character_ (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1986), 150.

broader than that of the oppressor. It includes not only an awareness of the position of the oppressed, to which the dominant group is often blind and deaf, but also of necessity in order to survive, an awareness of the position of the oppressor. And in the case of class relations, the perspective of the oppressed is particularly telling because in no other relationship is there inherent inequality.[4] In other words, it is possible to imagine persons of differing sexes, ages, sexual preferences, and races being different but equal (someday), but if we imagine persons of differing classes as equal, the very concept of class evaporates. In the midst of this most oppressive dominance-submission structure and the moral chaos of our times, it is especially important to listen to working-class women for a perspective on the meaning of being moral and developing morally in the midst of an immoral system.

Working-class women live in two worlds, in relation to the middle and upper classes and in relation to other working-class persons of their families, churches, and neighborhoods. In these worlds they confrontss the moral problems of inequality of power experienced through the social emotion of authority and of individualism experienced through the social emotion of abandoned

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[4]Socioeconomic class is an inherently oppositional or antagonistic relationship, according to Lourdes Beneria and Gita Sen, "Class and Gender Inequalities and Women's Role in Economic Development: Theoretical and Practical Implications," Class, Race, and Sex: The Dynamics of Control, eds. Amy Swerdlow and Hanna Lessinger (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1983), 243-59.

solitude.[5] These moral problems penetrate and inter-penetrate their worlds in innumerable ways. In light of these realities, the data which the lives of working-class women provide for critique of current theories of moral psychology and development, and for reconstruction of a more adequate theory are the focus of this chapter.

Definition of Morality

Research in moral development shows a pervasive lack of definitional clarity about morality, but one's definition greatly influences one's perspective on and critique of moral development as both an academic and a practical venture.[6] As summarized by H. Richard Niebuhr, morality and its broader systematization in ethics, historically has been concerned with the right, the good, or the fitting course of action.[7] The dominant civil morality of

[5]On the nature of social emotions see Sennett, Authority, 6.

[6]Indicative of the problem is that Norma Haan reviews six characteristics of moral language suggested by R. M. Hare, which are actually characteristics of justice language. See Norma Haan, Elaine Aerts, Bruce Cooper, On Moral Grounds: the Search for Practical Morality (New York: New York University Press, 1985), 26.

[7]H. Richard Niebuhr, The Responsible Self (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 60-61. The two principles of justice and beneficence (or utility) as pivotal for the study of morality and ethics has a long history in philosophical thought, according to William Frankena, Ethics (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1963), 35. Don Browning adopts this traditional philosophical course in his two-pronged treatment of morality as deontological and teleological in Religious Ethics and Pastoral Care (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 26-27.
David Augsburger, 248, considers cultures concerned with "the right" to be guilt cultures, those concerned with "the good" to be shame cultures, and those concerned with "the fitting" to

American culture is concerned with "the right" as evidenced in Webster's definition of morality: "a doctrine of principles or rules of conduct relating to right and wrong behavior."[8] But in each of the three above-mentioned conceptualizations of morality, moral language can be characterized as distinct from other forms of language.

First, inherent in questions of what is right, good, or fitting is an "ought" or "should", not in the sense of propriety or expediency but in the sense of duty and obligation.[9] Implied therein is the social character of morality (whether socially formed or individually formed in social context) since obligation and duty require a recipient or target arising from commitments.[10] Morality therefore seeks to define what individuals can be prohibited or required to do and still live together. As noted by Nucci, it seeks to give some guidance to who owes what to whom and how the benefits and burdens of cooperative living are distributed.[11] There are, however, duties

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be anxiety cultures.

[8]"Morality," Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary.

[9]Robert M. Liebert, "What Develops in Moral Development," Morality, Moral Behavior, and Moral Development, eds. William Kurtines and Jacob Gewirtz (New York: Wiley & Sons, 1984), 177.

[10]Haan, Aerts, and Cooper, 26.

[11]L. Nucci, "Conceptions of Personal Issues: A Domain Distinct from Moral or Social Concepts," Child Development 52 (1981): 114-21.

of perfect obligation, which are reciprocal, and duties of
imperfect obligation, which are unidirectional.[12]

Second, moral language has to do with the ideal or the true,
in the sense that a moral judgment or decision is made for the
best possible reasons toward the best possible solution, whether
framed as right, good, or fitting. Moral language is therefore
true in deontological morality in the Greek sense of being in
accordance with a pre-existant universal absolute, in
teleological morality in the sense of being in accordance with an
actualized whole, and in responsive morality in the Hebrew sense
of being faithful, dependable, reliable, and trustworthy in an
existential way.[13]

Third, moral language will reflect the grounds on which
people make moral judgments, whether that is the authority
inherently prompting it (deontological), the known or projected
consequences of the judgment and action (teleological), or the

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[12]Karen Lebacqz, Six Theories of Justice: Perspectives from
Philosophical and Theological Ethics (Minneapolis: Augsburg,
1986), 19: I have a duty not to harm you, you have a right not
to be harmed. Yet, I have a duty to do good but you have no
right that I do good for you.

[13]For this comparison of the Greek and Hebrew on "truth" see
Jack Boghosian, "Theology Recapitualtes Ontogeny: Reality Testing
as an Analogy in Relating to God," Journal of Psychology and
Theology 8, no. 2 (1980): 123. A similar distinction between
formal and existential truth is made by James Dittes, "Two Issues
in Measuring Religion," Research on Religious Development: A
Comprehensive Handbook, ed. Merton P. Strommen (New York:
Hawthorne, 1971), 78-106. When Process theologian, Sheila
Davaney, says that religious symbolism's efficacy lies not in its
reflection of "truth" but its engendered commitment to professed
and held values, she is letting go of ontological truth in favor
of existential truth (p. 47).

contextually fitting nature of the judgment and action given
one's commitment in a particular situation (responsive).

Theories of Moral Psychology and Development: Critique

How do persons become moral and what is the meaning of being
moral? For centuries these questions have evoked differing
responses from philosophers, psychologists, sociologists, and
theologians.[14] E. O. Wilson believes that evolution bred
altruism into our genetic inheritance for survival.[15] Theodosius
Dobzhansky suggests that evolution selects in the direction of
educability and plasticity of behavior for social cooperation.[16]
Hans J. Eysenck writes that morality arises as a biological
response to shame, guilt, and fear.[17] And Sigmund Freud believed
that morality is a result of psycho-sexual maturation, a defense
against instinct.[18] Albert Bandura posits that the moral is

[14]The summary of theories which follows is an enhancement of
a core summary offered by James Rest, Moral Development: Advances
in Research and Theory (New York: Praeger, 1986), 14-18.

[15]E. O. Wilson, Sociobiology: The New Synthesis (Cambridge:
Harvard University Press, 1975).

[16]Theodosius Dobzhansky, "Ethics and Values in Biology and
Cultural Evolution," Zygon 8, no. 3-4 (1973): 261-81.

[17]H. J. Eysenck, "The Biology of Morality," Moral
Development and Behavior, ed. T. Lickona (New York: Holt,
Rinehart & Winston, 1976), 108-23.

[18]Sigmund Freud, "Some Psychical Consequences of the
Anatomical Distinction Between the Sexes," The Standard Edition
of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, vol.19, ed.
James Strachery (1925; reprint, London: Hogarth, 1961), 257-58.
The class bias in Freudian psychology is apparent in the claim
that the working class uses "massive" ego defenses such as
repression, instead of the more refined defenses of the middle

merely learned social behavior that has responded to reinforcement or modeling.[19] Immanuel Kant contended that duty followed a reasoned recognition of principle which would be universal law.[20] John Dewey believed morality stems from the pragmatic social understanding of how cooperation functions and of one's stake in building a desirable world.[21] John Rawls and Lawrence Kohlberg believe that the experience of social interaction in community generates the need for rules and moral commitments.[22] David Hume and Martin Hoffman believe morality exists because feelings of sympathy/empathy trigger altruism.[23] Utilitarians such as John Stuart Mill suggested that morality is based on practical intelligence and altruism. Emile Durkheim and Erik Erikson have suggested in different ways that morality arises from a sense of awe and self-subjection to something

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class such as intellectualization and isolation, according to Michael Lerner, "Respectable Bigotry," The White Majority, ed. Louise Kapp Howe (New York: Random House, 1970), 196.

[19]Albert Bandura, Social Learning Theory (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1977).

[20]Immanual Kant, The Doctrine of Virtue, tr. Mary Gregor (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964).

[21]John Dewey, Moral Principles in Education (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959).

[22]John Rawls, A Theory of Justice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971). Lawrence Kohlberg, "Stage and Sequence: The Cognitive Developmental Approach to Socialization," Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research, ed. D. Goslin (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969), 364.

[23]Martin L. Hoffman, "Empathy, Role-Taking, Guilt and Development of Altruistic Motives," Moral Development and Behavior, ed. T. Lickona (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1976).

greater than the self, whether to society or the noumenous.[24]

And A. Blasi believes morality arises from our concern for self-integrity and our identity as moral agents.[25]

After reviewing numerous moral theories, James Rest concludes that at present there is no adequate theory of moral psychology because all theories focus on some but not all four major components or processes of morality, including:

1. interpretation of the situation

2. formulating the ought

3. creating and evaluating courses of action

4. implementing a course of action.[26]

Rest claims each of these four components requires certain skills and each is a cognitive-affective process geared to behavior.[27]

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[24]Emile Durkheim, Moral Education (New York: Free Press, 1961). Erik Erikson, Young Man Luther (New York: Norton, 1958).

[25]A. Blasi, "Moral Identity: Its Role in Moral Functioning," Morality, Moral Behavior, and Moral Development, eds. W. M. Kurtines and J. L. Gewirtz (New York: Academic, 1984), 128-39.

[26]For treatment of the four components see James Rest, "The Major Components of Morality," Morality, Moral Behavior, and Moral Development, eds. William Kurtines and Jacob Gewirtz (New York: Wiley & Sons, 1984), 24, 28-29. See also Rest, Moral Development, 179, who says that development is continuous though not stage-like, is more closely aligned with the deontological perspective in content although his four process/methodological components can be modified to include the teleological and responsive perspectives as well.

[27]Rest attempts to counter the split between reason and emotion in the Kohlberg-Gilligan debate which continues an oppressive dualism. Reason and feeling are in fact interdependent, with reason integrating our feelings and developing patterns to our wants, and both aiding us in prioritizing and goal-setting, according to Susan Parsons, "Feminism and Moral Reasoning," Australian Journal of Philosophy Suppl 64 (1986): 86.

Like most studies of morality since 1900, Lawrence Kohlberg attempted to show a correlation between persons' verbalizations about morality and their actual behavior, but in the 1960s began to focus his work on moral judgments alone (Rest's process #2), and proposed a theory of moral judgment development.[28] He makes clear at one point, though it is often ignored by critics, that he is discerning not stages of moral problem identification or interpretation, value prioritizing, or moral behavior, but verbal sophistication in moral justification:

> From the internalization view of the moralization
> process . . . our six types of thought [six stages]
> would represent six patterns of verbal morality in the
> adult culture which are successively absorbed as the
> child grows more verbally sophisticated.[29]

For Kohlberg successively higher stages or structures of moral thought are more complex and replace rather than supplement lower forms of thought.[30]

In using the term development, Kohlberg does not mean to indicate mere change nor a change in the content of morality. For him development means a change in organizational pattern or structure of thought, and he understands the change to occur in hierarchical stages that are sequential, invariate, and

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[28]Kohlberg found the reasoning about moral judgments but not action alternatives to be developmentally meaningful in Lawrence Kohlberg, "The Development of Children's Orientations Toward a Moral Order, I: Sequence in the Development of Moral Thought," Vita Humana 6 (1963): 12.

[29]Kohlberg, "The Development of Children's Orientations Toward a Moral Order, I," 30.

[30]Kohlberg, "The Development of Children's Orientations Toward a Moral Order, I," 11-33.

irreversible.[31] Building on the work of Jean Piaget, who
suggested that the impetus for childhood moral development lies
in the cognitive disequilibrium that occurs in the normal give
and take of peers,[32] Kohlberg posits that development of moral
judgment occurs because of ever expanding role-taking
opportunities, relying on the theory of the "generalized other"
in George Herbert Mead.[33] He claims a structural theory of
cognitive moral development, with movement from stage to stage
caused neither by the individual nor the environment but by the
interaction of the two.[34]

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[31]Lawrence Kohlberg and Richard Kramer, "Continuities and
Discontinuities in Childhood and Adult Development," Human
Development 12 (1969): 98, 116.

[32]Piaget, The Moral Judgment of the Child. Kohlberg did not
continue Piaget's method of observing actual moral decision-
making and action, however, but gleaned moral judgments from the
use of hypothetical dilemmas.
     There is a sense in which Piaget's definition of the
cognitive is broader than captured by intellect alone. Howard
Gardner, trained as a Piagetian, abandoned this broad general
view of cognition for a more specifically broad view in
identifying several intellectual capacities: linguistic, logical-
mathematical, spatial, musical, bodily-kinesthetic,
interpersonal, and intrapersonal. See Howard Gardner, "The Seven
Frames of Mind," Psychology Today, June 1984: 22. A tri-partide
theory of intelligence including the componential (analytical,
critical), the experiential (creative, insightful abilities), and
the contextual (manipulation of environment to "play the game")
may be found in Robert J. Trotter, "Three Heads Are Better Than
One," Psychology Today, August 1986: 56.

[33]Kohlberg, "Stage and Sequence," 398. See also Lawrence
Kohlberg, "The Development of Modes of Moral Thinking and Choice
in the Years 10 to 16" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago,
1958), p.34.

[34]Kohlberg distinguishes himself from both the
associationist-learning and the psycho-sexual maturationist
schools in "Stage and Sequence," 364. He also distinguishes
himself from Piaget and Durkheim, who believed in norm

In his 1958 study of 72 boys from the Chicago suburbs (ages
10, 13, and 16) Kohlberg identified motivational aspects of moral
actions in hypothetical dilemmas which fell into three major
categories: influence of reward and punishment (pre-conventional,
stages 1 and 2), anticipation of social praise or blame
(conventional, stages 3 and 4), and appeal to ideals or
principles which transcend the praise or blame of the community
(post-conventional, stages 5 and 6).[35] The pre-conventional
preoccupation with self begins to subside and role-taking of the
other begins with conventional morality. Post-conventional
morality, however, signifies a shift to the capacity for

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internalization through peer group play, and from Kant's view
that there are innate molds into which specific experiences fit,
according to R. S. Peters, "Moral Development: A Plea for
Pluralism," Cognitive Development and Epistemology, ed. Theodore
Mischel (New York: Academic Press, 1971), 239. In fact, however,
Kohlberg seems very close to the psycho-sexual maturationist and
the Kantian positions, with the environment merely acting as
stimulus to an epigenetic pattern of development.

[35]Other stages have been suggested in Kohlberg's work, but
they have not received the extensive development of these six
stages. For example, Kohlberg believed that even prior to pre-
conventional thought is a stage of passive obedience and
compliance (Stage 0), at which good and bad are not judgments of
merit but are events appended to the self. A person's value is
in terms of what he can do (power) and what he has (possessions).
Decisions are efforts to predict the external order. Persons
rather than rules are obeyed, yet respect for authority is in
terms of overt obedience rather than valuing the other. See
Kohlberg, "The Development of Modes of Moral Thinking and Choice
in the Years 10 to 16," 384.

In 1973 Kohlberg also suggested a hypothetical Stage 7,
which was grounded in a cosmic perspective rather than the
universal humanistic perspective of Stage 6, and which asked the
meta-moral, ontological, and religious question, "Why be moral?"
From a cosmic perspective, even principles of justice and
benevolence must bow to the broader meta-moral question. See
Lawrence Kohlberg, "Stages and Aging in Moral Development -- Some
Speculations," Gerontologist 13, no.4 (1973): 497-502.

reflection on morality itself, to the capacity for personal

choice and commitment to ideals rather than merely to societal

realities.[36] It recognizes the conflict between what may be

right in principle for an individual and what is legally right

within society.[37]

The ideals or principles of post-conventional morality are

neither rules (means) nor values (ends), according to Kohlberg,

but are guides to perceiving and integrating morally relevant

elements of situations.[38] Among several categories of

principles, both benevolence (utility) concerns and justice

concerns are present at each stage and become more differentiated

(prescriptive) and integrated (universal) in form at each

successive stage.[39]

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[36]Lawrence Kohlberg, "Continuities in Childhood and Adult
Moral Development Revisited," Life-Span Developmental Psychology:
Personality and Socialization, eds. Paul B. Baltes and K. Warner
Schaie (New York: Academic, 1973), 179-204.

[37]Kohlberg, "The Development of Children's Orientations
Toward a Moral Order, I," 14.

[38]For this discussion of post-conventional morality and
arriving at the primacy of the principle of justice see Lawrence
Kohlberg, "From Is to Ought: How to Commit the Naturalistic
Fallacy and Get Away with It in the Study of Moral Development,"
Cognitive Development and Epistemology, ed. Theodore Mischel (New
York: Academic, 1971), 151-235.

[39]Differentiated means prescriptive or able to distinguish
"is" from "ought", and integrated means universal or applicable
to anyone at any time in any place, according to Lawrence
Kohlberg, "Stages of Moral Development as a Basis for Moral
Education," Moral Education: Interdisciplinary Approaches, eds.
C. M. Beck, B. S. Crittenden, and E. V. Sullivan (Toronto:
University of Toronto Press, 1971), 46.

According to Kohlberg, however, only justice can transcend conventional claims (Stages 3 and 4), contractural-consensual claims (Stage 5), and all other principles as universalizable, because it alone can resolve competing claims in ways that "we want all people to adopt in all situations," that we want to consider obligatory so as to give each one his/her due.[40] Justice has a content aspect (treat all equally since all are free and morally equal), but Kohlberg's theoretical focus is in the formal aspect (the impartial application of principles to all through social contract negotiation).[41] Formalism, which is frequently coterminus with deontological moral theory, is Kohlberg's framework for selection of the justice principle as rooted in natural law, although critics including this writer, charge that it is grounded in individualism.[42] Kohlberg's

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[40]Kohlberg, "From Is to Ought," 218. On his choice of justice Kohlberg is in agreement with Aristotle and with Freud, who believed that "the first requisite of civilization is justice, the assurance that a rule once made will not be broken in favor of an individual," in Sigmund Freud, "Civilization and Its Discontents," Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, vol. 21, ed. James Strachey (London: Hogarth, 1961).
 As noted by Karen Lebacqz, 118, once justice is defined as "giving to each what is due," the remaining question is "on what basis is it due?" Is it due by effort, need, results, merit, potential, or market determination?

[41]While abstraction is common to all human language the formalist separation of structure and content which Kohlberg claims is not, and he never explains whether the separation is endemic to moral reasoning or to a culturally rooted perspective, according to Buck-Morss, 38.

[42]This critique, as well as critiques of ethnocentrism and cultural bias, are noted by Elizabeth L. Simpson, "Moral Development Research: A Case Study of Scientific Cultural Bias," Human Development 17 (1974): 81-106.

understanding of justice is the American liberal democratic one

of equal autonomy and freedom to speak, to claim and choose

opportunities, and to negotiate for self-interest in a

competitive arena. It is not the equal right to share ownership

in the means of production and the distribution of goods and

powers accruing therefrom.[43]

For Kohlberg the capacity for role-taking is the necessary

condition in Stages 4-6 for the cognitive dissonance in moral

conflict to trigger movement to a higher stage. For example, the

responsibilities of adult work experience and participation in

the public arena of government aid in the achievement of

principled reasoning beyond mere conventional reasoning.[44]

Absence from the conventional social milieu altogether (e.g.,

when one is in prison) makes movement to conventional morality

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[43]Modern liberal welfare states seek to alleviate the distribution of goods somewhat, but not the ownership of the means of production. The American Revolution sought to free everyone from obscurity ("no taxation without representation") while the French Revolution sought to free the masses from poverty. The American understanding of justice makes no claim to alleviate economic inequities, according to Maria Lugones and Elizabeth Spelman, "Competition, Compassion, and Community: Models for a Feminist Ethos," Competition: A Feminist Taboo, eds. Valerie Miner and Helen Longino (New York: Feminist Press, 1987), 235.

[44]Lawrence Kohlberg and Ann Higgins, "Continuities and Discontinuities in Childhood and Adult Development Revisited -- Again," Psychology of Moral Development (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1984), 426-97. Absence of sex differences on moral scores in adults, except when confounded with education and occupation are also reported in L. Walker, "Sex Differences in the Development of Moral Reasoning: A Critical Review of the Literature," Child Development 55 (1984): 677-91.

impossible.[45] And not surprisingly perhaps, since schools can widen one's network of relationships through the spoken and written word as well as enhance verbal sophistication, level of formal education has been found to correlate positively with level of moral development, especially in Western countries among young adults,[46] and is "250 times more powerful than sex as a correlate," according to James Rest.[47] It is perhaps no surprise that there is a positive correlation in some studies between stage of moral development and socioeconomic class,[48] and that

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[45]The attempt to raise the level of moral thinking of women (primarily black women, many of whom were prostitutes) to conventional morality failed because of failing to consider that survival in an "unconventional" place like prison may demand something different than is required in conventional society in, Lawrence Kohlberg, Peter Scharf, and Joseph Hickey, "The Justice Structure of the Prison -- A Theory and an Intervention," The Prison Journal 51 (1973): 3-14.

[46]The testing device used is the Defining Issues Test, reported in James Rest et al., "Different Cultures, Sexes, and Religions," Moral Development: Advances in Research and Theory, ed. James R. Rest (New York: Praeger, 1986), 107, 109. See also R. M. Martin, M. Shafto, and W. Van Deinse, "The Reliability, Validity and Design of the D.I.T.," Developmental Psychology 13 (1977): 460-68.

[47]James Rest and Stephen J. Thoma, "Relation of Moral Judgment Development to Formal Education," Developmental Psychology 21 (1985): 709-14. See also Rest, Moral Development, 177.

[48]Anne Colby, Lawrence Kohlberg, J. Gibbs, and M. Lieberman, "A Longitudinal Study of Moral Judgment," Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development 48, nos. 1-2 (1983): 70. See also Margaret Gorman, "Moral and Faith Development in Seventeen Year-Old Students," Religious Education 72 (1977): 496. Though not using a Kohlberg instrument of measure, Robert Endleman found that working-class men's moral judgments were less differentiated, more concrete, and more limited to the special details of a case than was true of the middle-class men, in "Moral Perspectives of Blue-Collar Workers," Blue-Collar World, eds. Arthur B. Shostak and William Gomberg (Englewood Cliffs:

white children score higher than ethnic minority children on tests of moral stages.[49]

Carol Gilligan was a student of Kohlberg's who raised questions about the validity of a theory derived only from the study of males (as was Kohlberg's 1958 dissertation) and the effect of this methodological move on later cross-sex samples which claimed a preponderance of adult women at conventional stages of moral development (especially Stage 3) and the lack of women compared to men at stages of justice-based principled morality.[50] The relationship of these concerns to the use of

Prentice-Hall, 1964), 311.

[49]Anthony Cortese, "Moral Development in Chicano and Anglo Children," Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Science 4, no. 3 (1982): 353-66. See also Janice Sams, "Ghetto Child and Moral Development," Religious Education 70 (1975): 636-48.

[50]Carol Gilligan, "Moral Orientation and Moral Development," Women and Morality, eds. Eva Feder Kittay and Diana T. Meyers (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1987), 21. Gilligan states that the pre-conventional and conventional stages of Kohlberg are not in much dispute, so her dialogue with and critique of him is at the level of post-conventional, principled morality, in John Michael Murphy and Carol Gilligan, "Moral Development in Late Adolescence and Adulthood: A Critique and Reconstruction of Kohlberg's Theory," Psychology and Religion: A Reader, ed. Margaret Gorman (New York: Paulist, 1985), 215. Longitudinal confirmation of Kohlberg's stages 1-3 and contraindication of stages 4-6 may be found in C. Holstein, "Development of Moral Judgment: A Longitudinal Study of Males and Females," Child Development 47 (1976): 51-61. Cross cultural confirmation of Kohlberg's stages 1-3 only may be found in C. P. Edwards, "Societal Complexity and Moral Development: A Kenyan Study," Ethos 3 (1975): 505-27, and in Simpson.

Kohlberg claims there are no sex differences in children and adolescents, but only in adults (those who do and do not have role-taking opportunities in the public workplace and government) in "Reply to Owen Flanagan and Some Comments on the Puka-Goodpaster Exchange," Ethics 92 (1982): 518. Absence of sex differences in childhood and adolescence confirmed by C. B. Keasey, "The Lack of Sex Differences in the Moral Judgment of

hypothetical dilemmas using male characters in moral development research also concerned Gilligan. She sought to study people making real-life decisions and chose a sample of women seeking abortion.[51] She reports that women making moral decisions "in the advantaged populations that have been studied"[52] frequently use an entirely different operative principle, that of benevolence or care rather than the principle of justice,[53] with

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Preadolescents," Journal of Social Psychology 86 (1972): 157-58; E. Turiel, "A Comparative Analysis of Moral Knowledge and Moral Judgment in Males and Females," Journal of Personality 44 (1976): 195-208; and Norma Haan et al., "Family Moral Patterns," Child Development 47 (1976): 1204-06.

[51]Carol Gilligan, "In a Different Voice: Women's Conception of the Self and of Morality," Harvard Educational Review 47 (1977): 481-517.

[52]Carol Gilligan, "Reply" in "On In a Differnt Voice: An Interdisciplinary Forum," Signs 11, no. 2 (1986): 330.
Only women who do not feel vulnerable with respect to their race, class, ethnicity, religion, or sexual preference will speak. Those who are more vulnerable will either distort their experience by speaking in the oppressor's language or will be silent. See Maria Lugones and Elizabeth Spelman, "Have We Got a Theory for You! Feminist Theory, Cultural Imperialism and the Demand for 'The Woman's Voice'," Women and Values: Readings in Recent Feminist Philosophy, ed. Marilyn Pearsall (Belmont, Ca.: Wadsworth, 1986), 21-23.

[53]Gilligan never defines care precisely, although she means more than simply "to care about," and she means something less than "love" in the Christian sense, I believe. She does mean at least the common understanding of care in "friendship," including enjoyment, acceptance, mutual assistance, trust, respect, understanding, spontaneity, and confidence. In addition, I think she suggests what Keith Davis calls "the caring cluster" which includes giving the utmost and being a champion and advocate. What she does not include is "the passion cluster" which incorporates the element of desire, the attraction of two or more for something greater, and the element of willingness to suffer or sacrifice in order to restore mutuality. See Keith Davis, "Friendship and Love," Psychology Today, August 1985: 22-30. Janice Raymond's use of the term "friends" richly includes the aspects of friendship-caring-passion, as it is "repeated acts

greater attention given to moral emotions and sentiments than to moral reasoning per se.[54] She also is aligned philosophically much more closely with teleological ethical theory (e.g., the utilitarians) in her concern for the consequences of moral acts which seek to avoid inflicting pain and to include all (greatest good for the greatest number?).[55] Nona Lyons claims that she and Gilligan are more closely aligned, however, with the responsive ethics of H. Richard Niebuhr.[56]

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that occur even in the face of betrayal, rupture, and disaffection," in Janice Raymond, A Passion For Friends: Toward a Philosophy of Female Affection (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 199.

[54]Carol Gilligan and Grant Wiggins, "The Origins of Morality in Early Childhood Relationships," The Emergence of Morality in Young Children, eds. Jerome Kagan and Sharon Lamb (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 277.

[55]Among those who believe Gilligan is teleological, and more specifically utilitarian, in her philosophical ethics are Jane Duran, "Gilligan's Two Voices: An Epistemological Overview," Laura M. Purdy, "Do Feminists Need a New Moral Theory," and Dianne Romain, "Care and Confusion," papers presented at the Explorations in Feminist Ethics Conference, Duluth, October 1988. Definitional difficulties loom large in Gilligan since her definition of "the good" is in her second stage (care of others before self) while "the good" in teleological theory includes all. She also claims that responsiveness is key to the activity of care, but is unclear about whether she means responsiveness to the principle of care, to the situation, or to people (I believe she intends responsiveness to people). Of course, in H. Richard Niebuhr's view, responsive ethics are neither deontological or teleological but a third category altogether, intending to respond to the situation or context. And finally, Gilligan says that the care perspective of moral development responds to need rather than to principles, and yet the justice-perspective responds to the need for equal respect and dignity. Niebuhr's responsive ethics, however, in focusing on the fitting response according to context, demands that we discern and prioritize differing needs.

[56]Nona Plessner Lyons, "Two Perspectives: On Self, Relationships, and Morality," Harvard Educational Review 53 (1983): 135.

While Kohlberg claims that empathy and role-taking are important precursors (Rest's process #1) to the making of moral judgments (Rest's process #2), he is focusing on the role-taking of the "generalized other," which according to John Rawls demands "the veil of ignorance" or being blind to the other as different from the self.[57] One is connected to another through reciprocity, through putting oneself in the place of that other. The moral feelings stirred in such a process are those of respect, duty, worthiness, and dignity; the feelings stirred in the violation of justice are guilt, shame, and anger.[58] However, the kind of empathy and role-taking that Gilligan understands as central to morality is taking the role of the "particular other" or "concrete other."[59] She claims connection is defined not by

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[57]Rawls, 12.

[58]Arnold Kahn and William P. Gaeddert, "From Theories of Equity to Theories of Justice: The Liberating Consequences of Studying Women," Women, Gender and Social Psychology, eds. Virginia E. O'Leary, Rhoda K. Unger, and Barbara S. Wallston (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1985), 130: When the problem of justice is fair distribution of time, money, punishments, and rewards, guilt is the result in cases of a too great output/input ratio, but the result is anger (and shame?) in cases of a too great input/output ratio.

[59]The distinction between role-taking of the "generalized other" and the "concrete other" in Kohlberg and Gilligan respectively, is noted in Seyla Benhabib, "The Generalized and the Concrete Other: The Kohlberg-Gilligan Controversy and Feminist Theory," Praxis International 5 (1986): 402-24. Owen Flanagan and Janathan Adler suggest that theories of "the right" and "the good" vary only in their degree of impartiality, in "Impartiality and Particularity," Social Research 50, no. 3 (1983): 590. The role-taking empathy of which Kohlberg speaks is cognitive empathy, compared to the more emotional empathy which recognizes and shares in another's feelings in Gilligan's understanding, according to Mirja Kalloopuska, "Relationship Between Moral Judgment and Empathy," Psychological Reports 53

reflective reciprocity, but through interaction and mutual engagement. The moral feelings stirred in such a process are those of sympathy, care, love, and solidarity; the feelings stirred in the violation of care are sorrow and fear. To the degree that emotions are embodied, personal realities, one might say that feelings for a "generalized other" are feelings for a disembodied other, and therefore feelings are merely preliminary but not central to the reasoning and judgment process on which Kohlberg focuses. For Gilligan emotions and the capacity for empathy with a particular other are an early part of human development and remain critical to the moral judgment process.[60] She provides no moral analysis, however, of the way in which possible lack of empathy with a particular other might result in exclusion.

Gilligan's care perspective offers different content to a developmental and stage-like structure of moral judgment similar to that of Kohlberg, revolving around a growth in social understanding and inclusion, though the reason for the growth, except as a natural unfolding, is not clear.[61]

(1983): 575.

[60]Kagan and Lamb suggest that the evidence of emotionality in moral decisions among children affirms Hume's belief that feeling rather than reason lies at the heart of morality. See Jerome Kagan and Sharon Lamb, ed., "Introduction," The Emergence of Morality in Young Children (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), x and xiii.

[61]Summary of stages may be found in Gilligan, "In a Different Voice: Women's Conception of Self and Morality," and in Carol Gilligan, "Do the Social Sciences Have an Adequate Theory of Moral Development?" Social Science as Moral Inquiry, eds.

Stage 1: Orientation to Individual Survival
The self is the object of concern, and connection to others
is a way of ensuring survival by providing access to the
things one is powerless to get for oneself. Moral
considerations emerge only when one's own needs are in
conflict and consist of imposed sanctions on the self.

Transition: From Selfishness to Responsibility
One's definition of self and moral conflict is shifting from
concern with needs of the self to concern with
responsibility for others.

Stage 2: Orientation to Goodness as Self-Sacrifice
Care as concern for others and their feelings, of not
inflicting hurt. Goodness is linked to self-sacrifice and
the need for approval. Difficulty distinguishing between
desires/needs/ responsibilities to self and others, some
tendency to avoid conflict.

Transition: From Goodness to Truth
Shift from relational understanding of mutual dependence to
one of dynamic interaction. Moral decisions must include
not only the self and other but also the situation, intent,
and consequences of the interaction itself.

Stage 3: Morality of non-violence
Care as a self chosen anchor of personal integrity (the
critical moral experience for women thus becomes that of
choice, separating oneself from others to realize one's own
sense of agency and responsibility).[62] Focus of care is on
the relationship rather than the other. Injunction against
hurting.

Like Kohlberg, Gilligan seems to assume the primary moral

problem to be overcome is not the structural distortion of

dominance-submission, but rather the obscurity and dependence of

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Norma Haan et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983),
41-44.
    That Gilligan has the same structure though different
content as Kohlberg in her moral development schema is confirmed
by Roslyn Wallach Bologh, "Feminist Social Theorizing and Moral
Reasoning: On Difference and Dialectic," <u>Sociological Theory 1984</u>
(San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1984), 381.

    [62]Gilligan, "Restoring the Missing Text of Women's
Development."

persons, to which Kohlberg's solution is autonomy or independence and Gilligan's solution is interdependence. She believes that the origin of morality is in the young child's awareness of self in relation to others along two dimensions of vulnerability. First is the dimension of inequality, which refers to a child's awareness of being smaller and less capable, of feeling helpless, powerless, and dependent on the more powerful adult. Second is the dimension of attachment, which refers to a child's awareness of having an effect on others and being moved by others, of being capable of making and sustaining connections with others.[63] While personality development is usually conceptualized as a movement from the inequality and attachment of childhood to the equality and separate/independent self of adulthood,[64] Gilligan says there are grounds for moral concern in situations of both inequality and separation. The threat of sustained inequality (oppression) finds its protection in the principle of justice, in the appeal to balancing claims and granting equal respect to all, regardless of power differences. The threat of attachment's opposite (separation or abandonment) finds its protection in the principle of care, in the appeal to discerning and responding to differing needs and including everyone.[65]

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[63]Gilligan and Wiggins, 280.

[64]Gilligan, "Remapping the Moral Domain," 247.

[65]The position of Nel Noddings, who suggests that the ethic of care requires the relief of suffering, is problematic if one does not identify the source or cause of the suffering. Is it a developmental consequence or a consequence of oppression? Is it grounded in temporary inequality or permanent inequality? To

While Kohlberg grounds his theory in cognitive developmental psychology, Gilligan grounds her theory in psychoanalytic theory.[66] Her early work seems to suggest that separation is especially necessary to male identity formation, as indicated in Nancy Chodorow and other Object Relations theorists, where males define self as different and separate from the mother while females define self as identified with and attached to the mother.[67] In her later work, however, she suggests that separation is a failure in development, following the work of John Bowlby who understands mature development as the capacity to

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relieve developmental suffering, for example, might be co-dependent rather than caring. See Nel Noddings, "An Ethic of Caring," Women, Culture and Morality, ed. Joseph L. DeVitis (New York: Lang, 1987), 363.

[66]Kohlberg and Gilligan are united in finding the source of morality in the individual. Gilligan claims that connections between parent and child are the source of morality, but she refers to the effect of the relationship on the individual. One who finds the source of morality much more than Gilligan in the situation and the interaction itself is Norma Haan.
    A focus on the source of morality in the individual is an attempt to discern formal and material causes of morality, while a focus on the source of morality in the situation and the interaction is an attempt to discern efficient causes of morality, according to Christopher Leone and William Graziano, "The Social Environment and Moral Action," Psychological Foundations of Moral Education and Character Development: An Integrated Theory of Moral Development, eds. Richard T. Knowles and George F. McLean (New York: University Press of America, 1986), 201.

[67]Chodorow, The Reproduction of Mothering, as cited in Gilligan, In a Different Voice. Chodorow also provides the foundation for Nel Noddings' ethic of caring in Caring: A Feminine Approach to Ethics and Moral Education (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 128.
    Roslyn Bologh's critique of Chodorow is that women's responsibility for child care creates men who need to dominate. Hence, women are to blame for their domination.

withstand loss without a breach in attachment.[68] In the first

case separation is necessary to male identity formation and in

the second case separation is a failure in mature human selfhood.

Gilligan's earliest understanding of separation led to the

association of males with the principle of justice and females

with the principle of care, with the implication that justice and

care were equally viable gender-related moral options.[69] Her

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[68]See John Bowlby, Attachment and Loss, 3 vols. (New York:
Basic, 1969, 1973, 1980), cited in Carol Gilligan, "Remapping the
Moral Domain," 243. Two years after In a Different Voice
Gilligan notes that Object Relations theory is very masculine
with its focus on objects and the importance of mirroring as
opposed to dialogue in the formation of personality, in Carol
Gilligan, "The Conquistador and the Dark Continent: Reflections
on the Psychology of Live," Daedalus 113 (1984): 91.

[69]In In a Different Voice Gilligan suggests the need for
conceptual shifts in our understanding of identity to include not
only agency and achievement but also interconnection and
affiliation, in our understanding of community to include not
only hierarchical or contractual relationships negotiated by
individuals and bound by the alternatives of constraint and
cooperation but also as networks of interaction given in
experience and sustained by activities of care-giving and
response, in our understanding of morality to include not only
the balancing of claims but also preserving the network of
relationships, and in our understanding of ethics to include not
only the principle of justice but also the principle of non-
violence or care. Nona Lyons claims that while the justice and
care perspectives are not gender specific, they are gender
related. This tends to be true regardless of age according to S.
Langdale, "Moral Orientations and Moral Development: The Analysis
of Care and Justice Reasoning Across Different Dilemmas in
Females and Males From Childhood to Adulthood" (Ph.D. diss.,
Harvard University, School of Education, 1983).

From a review of the literature, there is no empirical
evidence to support the claim that men and women differ in moral
orientation according to Mary Brabeck, "Moral Orientation:
Alternative Perspectives of Men and Women," Psychological
Foundations of Moral Education and Character Development: An
Integrated Theory of Moral Development, eds. Richard T. Knowles
and George F. McLean (New York: University Press of America,
1986), 81.

latest theoretical posture, however, seems to elevate the morality of care over that of justice, and in so doing fails to discern that separation carries different meanings for the infant, the adolescent, and the adult, and that separation may be morally responsible when the relationship of attachment is one of dominance-submission (e.g., spouse or child abuse). Nor does Gilligan explore the distinction between the temporary inequality of childhood and the permanent inequality of oppressed, marginalized groups, and the differing needs these present.

As noted by James Walker as well as Susan Squier and Sara Ruddick, Gilligan never raises the question of whether women's capacity for the moral perspective of care limits one's ability to contest exploitation and therefore continues to oppress, or whether it leads to emancipation.[70] I believe that because Gilligan's definition of care includes relief of suffering but does not apparently include the willingness to suffer, the care ethic does not encourage standing in solidarity with the oppressed in their struggle for equality. Love has that capacity, but care does not, and so the latter is of limited use by working-class women against systemic oppression.

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[70]James C. Walker, "In a Diffident Voice: Cryptoseparatist Analysis of Female Moral Development," Social Research 50 (1983): 666. Susan Squier and Sara Ruddick, "Review of In a Different Voice by Carol Gilligan," Harvard Education Review 53 (1983): 341.

Because Gilligan ignores questions about oppression, a book by Barbara Myerhoff and Elinor Lenz, which claims indebtedness to Gilligan entitled Feminization of America: How Women's Values are Changing Our Public and Private Lives (Los Angeles: Tarcher, 1985) can be written with no mention of ethnic women, rural women, lesbian women, or abortion.

Reconciliation, inclusion, and community that avoid the conflicts of inequality do not promote morality.

In a study of 80 North American advantaged adolescents and adults, Gilligan and Attanucci found two-thirds of the men representing a justice-oriented approach to moral dilemmas with all but one of the remaining men representing a justice/care orientation, while women were fairly equally divided among a justice oriented, a care-oriented, and a justice/care oriented approach.[71] Gilligan believes this reveals the gender-related nature of moral judgment, since virtually no men used the care orientation. But only one-third of the women used it, which places statistical limitations on the designation of "gender-related." The variety in women's responses, however, may signal that the group in power tends to use the normative, liberal-democratic, justice-oriented approach, while those with less power must be more flexible in their moral judgments.[72] Herein lies the epistemological advantage of the oppressed, seeing situations from a broader perspective in order to survive.

The care perspective is related therefore, not to gender but to positions of subordination. It is not only women, but also

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[71]Carol Gilligan and J. Attanucci, "Two Moral Orientations," unpublished manuscript (1985), cited in Carol Gilligan, "Moral Orientation and Moral Development," 25. See also Gilligan and Wiggins, 284.

[72]Woman-defined morality arises out of the practice of and need for flexibility, according to Demetrakopoulos, 94. This is similar to Hyman Rodman's suggestion that the lower class has a wider range of values than the middle class in "The Lower Class Value Stretch," Poverty in America, eds. Louis Ferman et al. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965), 205.

ethnic and racial minorities as well as poor and working-class people who are society's care takers.[73] It is third world nations, subordinate in a world pervaded with imperialism that reflect the care perspective of moral decision making.[74]

Both Kohlberg and Gilligan have clarified the form of role taking (Rest's process #1) and judgment (Rest's process #2) in the justice and care perspectives on morality.[75] What is needed is some clarification of the relationship between the two perspectives and the situations in which each perspective may be appealed to and holds priority (Rest's process #3).[76]   Gilligan

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[73]The presence in core black American culture of a form of social interchange similar to the care perspective described by Gilligan is noted by John Langston Gwaltney, Drylongso: A Self-Portrait of Black America (New York: Random House, 1980).

[74]The similarity of African morality to the care perspective described by Gilligan is noted in Sandra Harding, "The Curious Coincidence of Feminine and African Moralities: Challenges for Feminist Theory," Women and Morality, eds. Eva Feder Kittay and Diana Meyers (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Allenheld, 1986), 296-315, and in Joan Tronto, "Beyond Gender Difference to a Theory of Care," Signs 12, no. 4 (1987): 644-63.

[75]While Gilligan claims to be dealing with moral action rather than moral reasoning, the data of her studies are reports, words about what people would do or did do in a moral dilemma. She is reporting moral judgments as much as Kohlberg did, although they are moral judgments about real-life rather than hypothetical situations. A similar conclusion has been reached by Debra Nails, "Social Scientific Sexism: Gilligan's Mismeasure of Man," Social Research 50, no. 3 (1983): 660.

[76]Piaget's early work on moral development assumed the inequality inherent in human life, but he also raised the question of how children develop a sense of cooperation and reciprocity, and later even generosity, when the notion of "the good" supercedes that of duty. See Piaget, The Moral Judgment of the Child, 176. As Gilligan notes, however, Piaget never integrates the notion of "the good" into his theory, and along with Kant and Durkheim understands morality as a system of rules. See Carol Gilligan, "Do the Social Sciences Have an Adequate

claims the relationship of justice and care is one of complementarity. They cannot be integrated since each is a perspective which is abandoned when the other is assumed, as in the gestalt figure of the vase and the two female profiles -- one does not see them both at once.[77] She does say that they are not mutually exclusive, for care can exist within a justice perspective and justice can exist within a care perspective, but as perspectives the two cannot be integrated.[78] One never eliminates or absorbs the other.[79] Therefore, Gilligan suggests these two principles may be in tension, in a subordinate relationship one to the other, or exist side by side with no clear relationship.[80]

Theory of Moral Development?" 36-38.

[77]Gilligan, "Moral Orientation and Moral Development," 19. A critique of Gilligan's notion of complementarity of moral perspectives may be found in Squier and Ruddick, 342.

[78]Gilligan distinguishes between care within a justice framework and care as a perspective on moral decisions. In the former case, it is the mercy that tempers justice, the obligation within personal relationships, the choice to forgive or show altruism, or the choice to sacrifice self-claims. The justice framework of reciprocity and equal respect remains intact. In the care perspective people are interdependent and detachment which allows moral blindness, indifference, failure to discern and respond to need is problematic. Justice in this perspective means respect for people in their own terms. See Gilligan, "Moral Orientation and Moral Development," 24.

[79]Roger Rigterink, "Warning: The Surgeon Moralist Has Determined that Claims of Rights Can Be Detrimental to Everyone's Interests," Explorations in Feminist Ethics Conference, Duluth, 8 Oct. 1988, believes that care is not additive to justice or competitive with justice, but eliminates justice as the primary perspective because it is more encompassing and inclusive.

[80]Lyn Mikel Brown, Carol Gilligan et al., "Coding Manual: A Guide to Reading for Self and Moral Orientation in Real-Life

Gilligan is correct, I think, in saying that each of the two tracks of morality has its own experiential bases and forms of thought.[81] But the dialectic is not that of the life cycle fluctuation between separation and connection, as she contends. Each track suggests both an aim or end and a means to that end. Differing situations of vulnerability present differing moral needs for equality and for community.[82] Justice-based morality

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Moral Conflicts," draft (Cambridge: Harvard University School of Education, 1986), 73.

[81]Gilligan, "Do the Social Sciences Have and Adequate Theory of Moral Development?" 40. It is more confusing than helpful (because of "mixing apples and oranges") to dichotomize the justice and care perspectives as does Nona Lyons, in suggesting that the male notion of morality is a discrete moment of rational choosing by a separate self and the female notion of morality a consciousness of a connected self rooted in time but not bound by a single moment, (p.126) or that the justice perspective entails how decisions are thought about and justified as well as whether values, principles or standards are maintained, and that the care perspective entails looking at what happened, will happen, or how things worked out, as well as whether relationships are maintained or restored (p.136).

[82]Each perspective also has liabilities. Limits of the justice perspective are losing sight of the real needs of people, generating violence through either-or and win-lose approaches, limited options for dealing with conflicts, focusing on the self and self-interest, seeing others as the enemy which makes bonding difficult, tending toward arrogance in moral judgments, rationalizing, condescension to the weak and needy, devaluation of emotions, love, and spontaneous responses to needs, inability to deal with intimate relationships and to care for others, limiting moral responsibility to what is equitable, concealing bias of one's values, not consulting those in need. Limits of the care perspective are losing sight of one's self, pleasing others to avoid conflict, being self-absorbed or self-sacrificing, being overwhelmed with details and the needs of others, inability to choose and to act, smothering others, "understanding away" oppression, devaluing fairness/rationality/ independence and use of rules in decisions, inability to deal with rejection and to care for oneself, inability to deal with competition. See Michele Dumont, "Carol Gilligan: The Two Moral Voices -- Justice and Care," Explorations in Feminist Ethics

suggests the means of advocacy to equalize power amid competing

claims. Care-based morality suggests the means of non-violent

solidarity to overcome exclusion of the weak and dependent. But

the means are interchangeable such that situations of inequality

might also call for non-violent solidarity with the marginalized

to protect dignity, and situations of exclusion and abandonment

might also call for advocacy to protect individuality.[83]

However, the need for equality and respect is unqualified, while

the need for inclusion and individuality is qualified and most

appropriate in situations of caring for dependents, those unable

to claim their own rights or those who are ignored when they do

claim them. When moral needs conflict, priority goes to equality

and respect as unqualified needs, often in the short run but

always in the long run.

In addition to role-taking and problem identification, moral

judgment, and value prioritizing, the final aspect constitutive

of morality is action (Rest's process #4). John Meacham suggests

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Conference, Duluth, 8 October 1988.

I contend that these are limitations not of the justice and care perspectives on morality, but of middle-class individualism implementing these perspectives. "Middle class women use words, think abstractly, are unable to make quick decisions, to deal with direct confrontation, set the standards for what is good, looking down on those concerned with money and the future," says Nancy Hartsock in "Feminist Theory and the Development of Revolutionary Strategy," Women and Values: Readings in Recent Feminist Philosophy, ed. Marilyn Pearsall (Belmont, Ca: Wadsworth, 1986), 15.

[83]The protections provided by each ethic are named by Diana T. Meyers, "The Socialized Individual and Individual Autonomy," Women and Moral Theory, eds. Eva Feder Kittay and Diana T. Meyers (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1987), 146.

that in the actual application of the principles of justice and care, they are usually brought to a dialectical synthesis of compromise either in a higher order principle or in such a way that each is violated minimally.[84] This is revealed clearly in the work of Norma Haan, who understands morality to be social rather than individual, reflecting interactional practical reasoning triggered by social disequilibrium rather than formal thought triggered by individual cognitive disequilibrium.[85] By focusing on moral action rather than moral judgment, she therefore understands development as the accruing of social skill and tangible power.[86] What develops, therefore may be

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[84]John A. Meacham, "A Dialectical Approach to Moral Judgment and Self-Esteem," Human Development 18 (1975): 165.

[85]Actual developmental advance in moral judgments occurs not so much in situations of stimulation and exposure (e.g., films, expositions followed by discussions) as in active experiences of meaning and social learning. An example of educative attempts in the former mode can be found in Rowland Lorimer, "Change in the Development of Moral Judgments in Adolescence: The Effect of Structural Exposition vs. a Film and Discussion," Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science 3 (1971): 1-10. Examples of educative attempts in the latter mode can be found in Andrew D. Thompson, "Toward a Social-Psychology of Religious Valuing," Chicago Studies 19, no. 3 (1980): 273, and Michael Rutter, "Resilient Children," Psychology Today, March 1984: 57-65.
John Dewey (1930) is a historical forerunner to those who understand the key aspect of morality to be action, believing that the process of moral decision making called "deliberation" arises out of actual concrete dilemmas and aims at "rectifying present troubles." Cited in Israela Ettenberg, "Moral Education: The Formalist Tradition and the Deweyan Alternative," Moral Development, Moral Education, and Kohlberg, ed. Brenda Munsey (Birmingham: Religious Education Press, 1980), 412. However, Dewey is more individualistic than Meacham, Haan, or Thompson.

[86]Norma Haan, "Processes of Moral Development: Cognitive or Social Disequilibrium?" Developmental Psychology 21 (1985): 996. That personal power and knowledge come from acting on one's beliefs, testing and changing them through action, is supported

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> tolerance for conflict and the skills of conflict
> resolution that allow tension to be endured long enough
> for disputants to draw on their past experience, invent
> possibilities, and mutually determine the legitimacy of
> one another's self-interests to reach mutual resolution
> of their discord.[87]

Haan's study of six adolescent friendship groups (N=56) which

were sexually mixed but either black or white, lower-class or

middle-class intended to compare Kohlberg's theory of deducing

solutions from rules, to an interpersonal style of moral

solutions achieved through dialogue striving for balanced

agreements. Results showed that blacks had higher interpersonal

than formal scores, while whites had higher formal than

interpersonal scores.[88] Formal moral judgments were more

affected by motivational circumstances than were levels of

interpersonal morality.[89] Higher scores on moral action occurred

in pleasant than in stressful situations. And like Kohlberg and

others, Haan found that formal moral judgment was a poor

predictor of moral action. A vivid picture of the way which not

only issues of inequality but also issues of individualism and

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by Martha Ackelsberg and Kathryn Pyne Addelson, "Anarchist
Alternatives to Competition," Competition: A Feminist Taboo, eds.
Valerie Miner and Helen Longino (New York: Feminist Press, 1987),
229.

[87]Haan, "Processes of Moral Development," 1006.

[88]Norma Haan, "Two Moralities in Action Contexts," Journal
of Personality and Social Psychology 36 (1978): 286. That non-
dominant groups may be more attuned to cooperative orientations
of moral decision making is confirmed by Ackelsberg and Addelson,
229.

[89]Haan, "Two Moralities," 295.

exclusion from community are importantly moral is in one dilemma

solved by Haan's groups:

> [There was a] perfect correlation between race and the
> groups' decisions to let a potentially contaminated
> survivor into their safe area. All three white groups
> decided not to permit the survivor to enter since they
> understood themselves as sole representatives of the
> whole human race. All black groups decided to let the
> survivor enter. "We're alive and he's alive, so we
> have to take a chance on him. Besides, we are taking
> chances with each other; we don't even know whether we
> are contaminated or not." No white group considered
> they might be contaminated.[90]

The relationship between social and moral superiority and

exclusion is made clear here. The reality of dominance-

submission relationships perpetuated an individualistic solution

by oppressors which allowed the oppression to continue as a

morally preferred choice, blinding them to the truth of both

equality and inclusion.

Moral Psychology and Development: Toward Reconstruction

Any reconstructive effort in the moral domain relies on a

clear and accurate determination of the moral problem(s) which

confront us. According to Don Browning, the key problems of

modernity are "normless antinomianism"[91] and "how to create an

integrated world out of fragmented parts."[92] Not surprisingly,

Browning's solution to these problems lies in deontological moral

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[90]Haan, "Two Moralities," 300.

[91]Don Browning, The Moral Context of Pastoral Care
(Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976), 7.

[92]Browning, Religious Ethics and Pastoral Care, 12.

systems which recover normative traditions and rules for a sense of meaning and purpose.

The moral enterprise takes quite a different turn, however, if one conceptualizes the primary problem of modernity as dominance-submission in its many social manifestations (sexism, heterosexism, racism, classism, ageism, ableism) culminating in the political problem of violent fascism, whether located in/between individuals, communities, or nation states.

How one sees the actors in a moral dilemma will determine one's moral judgment. Are the actors opponents in a contest of rights or members of a network of relationships on whose continuation they all depend?[93] The lives of working-class women suggest that the answer is "Both -- in differing situations." The poor and working class understand themselves to be in a contest or battle for basic human rights when counterposed to the middle and upper classes. Justice is always an appropriate value when there are differences in power and when the subordinate are deprived of equal respect and dignity. In addition, the Locus of Control studies described in Chapter 3 suggest that the powerless can only begin to predict consequences of moral actions when they are in community with those they trust not to violate their basic

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[93]This question is helpfully framed by Carol Gilligan, "New Maps of Development: New Visions of Maturity," Women, Culture and Morality, ed. Joseph L. DeVitis (New York: Lang, 1987), 293.

rights, not in negotiation with the powerful, unless the power is somehow equalized.[94]

But the marginalized do utilize the care perspective among themselves, for they understand themselves to be reliant on the network of support and connection which family, church, and community provide for survival.[95] Within a group of trust, where one can rely on basic rights being sustained, where life is built on cooperation, one can afford to make individual exceptions, to make judgments based on individual need in pursuit of beneficial consequences.

This is not because the care ethic is only appropriate to family, church and community as aspects of the private domain, while the justice ethic is reserved for the public domains of workplace and government.[96] Rather, it is because in modern

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[94]I am indebted to Janice Sams for pointing out the importance of the ability to see future consequences of decisions and actions in moral educability, and the way in which this is often not possible among the oppressed for systemic reasons.

[95]Interestingly, in reviewing the development of Black womanist ethics from the Black woman's literary tradition, Katie Cannon notes that these authors emphasize life within the community, not conflict with outside forces. See Katie Cannon, Black Womanist Ethics (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 87.

[96]This is Kohlberg's rationale for accepting Gilligan's theory as a helpful modification of his own to deal with obligations within the private realm, in Lawrence Kohlberg, Charles Levine, and Alexandra Hewer, "The Current Formulation of the Theory," Essays in Moral Development, vol. 2 of The Psychology of Moral Development: The Nature and Validity of Moral Stages, ed. Lawrence Kohlberg (New York: Harper & Row, 1984), 212-319, esp. 229. The public-private split, however, is not one of "activity" or "sphere" but one of "power," according to Linda Imray and Audrey Middleton, "Public and Private: Marking the Boundaries," The Public and the Private, eds. Eva Gamanikow, David H.J. Morgan, June Purvis, and Daphne Taylorson (London:

times, especially since the emergence of capitalism and individualism, justice has been understood in terms of "constraint on individual actions to prevent interference with the rights of another" rather than in terms of "giving each his/her due." The freedom presumed available to all, in actuality belongs only to the powerful. Hence, justice has been powerless to institute equality and sustain community. With the institution of "positive rights" such as the right to adequate food, shelter, and medical care justice takes on additional and significant meaning, but is still not adequate if those rights are not claimed, as they cannot be by infants, the mentally defective, or anyone without the access, voice, or normative competence to claim them.[97] The poor and working class in particular are easily numbed or shamed into believing they are without access or voice to claim these rights. Only advocacy or

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Heinemann, 1983), 12-27.

The existence of affirmative action legislation indicates the viability of a public ethic of benevolence which tries to hear the needs of particular individual (groups) so that all are included. Of course, members of dominant groups contend that their rights are violated in the process.

[97]For this understanding of justice as freedom from constraint later including positive rights, I am indebted to Roger Rigterink. Also Diana Meyers, 146, distinguishes between justice rights which protect people from aggression and those which protect people from severe deprivation.

Freedom may be helpfully understood not as "the power to do or not to do" but rather as normative competence in cases where young children and psychotics, for example, are not given free agency and responsibility not because they are powerless to act, but because they do not have the normative competence to judge their actions in a world where normative competence is essential to social personhood. See Paul Benson, "Rethinking Freedom: Free Agency as Normative Competence," Explorations in Feminist Ethics Conference, Duluth, 8 October 1988.

solidarity will increase the likelihood of these rights being claimed. Of course, the ethic of care is also subject to individualistic distortion when it is used by the powerful to keep the marginalized in the care-giving role and therefore powerless.

The position of this study is that persons are inherently moral beings as they are inherently creative and social beings,[98] and that which fulfills human nature is intrinsic to morality. There is an inherent need or striving to overcome dominance-submission relationships, and the injustice of distorted self-integrity, self-esteem,[99] social-historical and noumenal relatedness for more adequate solutions to the psycho-social-historical dilemmas of inequality of power and exclusion from community. As Beverly Harrison has remarked,

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[98]This definition of the moral was developed from the psychology of Alfred Adler, who believed that the psychologically healthy was also the morally good. Perhaps because of his affinity with Marxist social theory, Adler also believed that moral principles were a type of social rule that were created out of concrete historical circumstances. See also D. Baumrind, "A Dialectical Materialist's Perspective on Knowing Social Reality," New Directions for Child Development 1, no. 2 (1978): 69, for the social origins of the moral. Darwin also believed that the moral sense grew out of social instincts, as cited in Dobzhansky, 264.
While not claiming alliance with either Adler or Marx, Roman Catholic theologian Charles Curran interestingly suggests that the two primary characteristics of Christian conscience are that it is communitarian and creative, in order to deal with problems of individualism, mass hypnosis, and legalism. See Charles Curran, "The Christian Conscience Today," Psychology and Religion: A Reader, ed. Margaret Gorman (New York: Paulist, 1985), 175.

[99]This is similar but not equivalent to Meacham's argument that moral behavior is guided by efforts to preserve self-esteem. See Meacham, 164.

> However science is understood, moral reasoning is
> neither causal/predictive nor critical/descriptive, but
> evaluative/transformative; it aims to assess how our
> actions may affect a situation for the better, not how
> a historical process will proceed if no intervention
> occurs. When we "typify" social relations, we lose
> precisely the locus of historical contingency that give
> moral questions their force.[100]

Hence, the legal may serve to protect, but the moral seeks to enhance equal regard and mutuality. We can be made aware of the distortions of dominance-submission through our bodies, feelings, cognition, or imagination as we interact through time and space with others. The awareness of distortion can be blocked by heredity or experience (the material conditions of both privilege and oppression can blunt awareness), but the striving or need to overcome is always present. Moral stagnation or regression stem from misdirected strivings -- from focus on the self, the social, or the noumenal to the exclusion of the other dimensions; from attempts to solve problems other than those of inequality and exclusion; from deficiencies in empathy, cognition, imagination, and power to act; or from demands and stresses of the context which prevent a more adequate solution.[101]

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[100]Beverly Harrison, "The Role of Social Theory in Religious Social Ethics," 65.

[101]The experiments of Stanley Milgram in Obedience to Authority (New York: Harper, 1974) were a turning point in the study of morality, which exposed the way in which the interaction of pressures in carrying out one moral action can insensitize one to seeing, judging, intending, and carrying out another. These experimental results were confirmed in J. Darley and C. Batson, "From Jerusalem to Jericho: A Study of Situational and Dispositional Variables in Helping Behavior," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 27 (1973): 100-08.

Because the adequate or fitting may change with changing situations, places, and times, the moral is contextually relative and created by humans together.[102] It is not a static ideal or revealed truth. However, the moral is not relative in the sense of being without foundation.[103] It is our best answer to the question: "if we do this, will we have acted so as to overcome the pain and suffering of inequality and exclusion in the human community, and therefore be the kind of people engendering respect from ourselves, our community, and our God?" Our evaluation of adequacy is always only more or less true, of course, since we never have a view of the more-equal and more-inclusive from the aspect of eternity.

The moral is not a thing (either a judgment or an action), but a process which finds us in dialogue, conflict, confrontation, and compromise with those equal or unequal in power. Development is therefore due to "social disequilibrium," and what develops is the social skill to solve the problems of

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[102]Moral rules delineate behavior that was necessary for survival in the past, but as times and situations change moralities may need to change as well, according to R. Hogan, J. A. Johnson, and N. P. Emler, "A Socioanalytic Theory of Moral Development," New Directions for Child Development 1, no. 2 (1978): 3.

[103]A current trend seems to be away from relativizing of values toward the need to foster a vision of dialogical communities in which solidarity and mutual understanding prevail, according to Richard Bernstein, "The Question of Moral and Social Development," Value Presuppositions in Theories on Human Development, eds. Leonard Cirillo and Seymour Wapner (Hillside, N.J.: Erlbaum, 1986), 12.

inequality and exclusion.[104] Because the moral is socially

constructed, development entails the need to deal with conflict.

When power is equal, conflict is best resolved through honest

cooperation. Threats to cooperation when power is unequal

include dominating, compartmentalizing, avoidance, lying,

sabotage, or pseudostupidity.[105] Inequality of power frequently

evokes the need to protect oneself from the danger of

vulnerability if one is oppressed, and from the danger of giving

up privilege if one is an oppressor. Two solutions which make

confrontation possible through the equalizing of power in order

to bring together the human community for true cooperation are

solidarity with the oppressed and advocacy on behalf of the

oppressed.

A number of insights converge in the reconstruction of a

process of moral decision-making viable for the working-class

woman. James Rest's process is informative. In addition, June

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[104]I am indebted to Norma Haan for the concept of "social disequilibrium" and the suggestion that what develops is social skill rather than moral concern, complexity of thought, etc. See Haan, Aerts, and Cooper, 38, 351.

[105]These threats to cooperation are suggested by Norma Haan, "The Interactional Morality of Everyday Life," Social Science as Moral Inquiry, eds. Norma Haan et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 240.
     The close relation between deception and the coercion of oppression is made clear in Sissela Bok, Lying: Moral Choice in Public and Private Life (New York: Random House, 1978), xxii. Those on the margins of the structures of power are able to see some of the lies and distortions of dominant patriarchal culture, according to Laura Lyn Inglis and Peter Steinfeld, "Dwelling Along the Boundaries: The Geography of a Feminist Ethic," Explorations in Feminist Ethics Conference, Duluth, 8 October 1988.

O'Connor takes seriously the many requirements of reflecting on experience,[106] Beverly Harrison suggests a liberation perspective for decision making,[107] and James Poling emphasizes the importance of naming one's community's story and vision as well as the social analysis of oppression and power as part of the reflection process.[108]   Hence, the following cyclical process of decision-making is suggested:

1. Interpretation of the situation (perspective taking)
   a. Define perspective of own community's story and vision: what kind of people (anthropology), what kind of community (ecclesiology), what kind of God (theology)
   b. Collect perspectives of actors on events of situation: history, feelings, reasons, motives, intentions, needs, consequences of projected situation
   c. Re-interpret from perspective of analysis of oppression
   d. Determine costs/benefits to all from two perspectives
2. Formulate the ought (making a judgment)
   a. What is right, good, or fitting (operative principle)
   b. Define commitments (to what/for whom)[109]
3. Create and evaluate options for action & guidelines to follow
   a. In light of possible consequences and existing norms
   b. In community
4. Implement decision
5. Re-interpret situation in light of implemented decision

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[106]June O'Connor, "On Doing Religious Ethics," Women's Consciousness, Women's Conscience, eds. Barbara Andolsen, Christine Gudorf, and Mary Pellauer (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1985), 265-84.

[107]Beverly W. Harrison, "Theological Reflection in the Struggle for Liberation," Making the Connections: Essays in Feminist Social Ethics, ed. Carol S. Robb (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985), 235-263.

[108]James Poling, "An Ethical Framework for Pastoral Care," Journal of Pastoral Care 42, no. 4 (1988): 299-306.

[109]Naming "for whom" a decision is made is important from the liberation perspective especially, according to Witvliet, 31, and Jackie DiSalvo, "Class, Gender and Religion: A Theoretical Overview and Some Political Implications," Women's Spirit Bonding, eds. Janet Kalven and Mary Buckley (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1984), 31.

From this perspective a community must always struggle with its own viewpoint and must always consider the viewpoint of the oppressed as well. For the oppressor this may mean modifying oppressive self-understandings and behavior. For the oppressed this may mean modifying internalized oppression through conscientization. Discerning and embodying the moral is an on-going pursuit of reflection-action-reflection-action in the midst of engaging social disequilibrium. The moral always seeks transformed community.

Some have restricted the meaning of morality to principled decision-making and behavior as distinct from personal preference or gratification on the one hand, and from social convention, etiquette, and economics on the other.[110] Of course, in the case of Kohlberg this restricts the realm of the moral to those with education and professional-managerial employment, and it likely excludes the poor and working class from both moral decision-making and behavior. In the midst of a bourgeois ideology of individualism and equal opportunity, it also suggests that the economic disadvantage of the poor and working class may be _due_ _to_ their lack of morality.[111]

If the moral is restricted to principled decision-making and behavior, then decisions and behavior which are grounded in survival are deemed amoral or at least morally primitive, as is

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[110]Nucci, 114.

[111]McKenney, 140.

the case in the hierarchical developmental theories of both Kohlberg and Gilligan.[112] Although Gilligan is concerned with relationships and connection, she suggests that her Stage 1 is characterized by a kind of individualistic survival-oriented egocentrism which needs to be transcended for moral maturity. The way in which she counterposes a survival ethic and a relational ethic in the case of the Donner party which is snowbound in the Sierras belies her individualistic assumptions. In Gilligan's understanding of human connection, the "other" is variously used, focused on, and transcended in her three stages.[113] What the lives of working-class people tell us is that survival is a relational matter among the oppressed. The one who goes out on his/her own either does not survive or has joined the oppressor. What the lives of poor and working-class people also suggest is that survival is a moral issue, and the final stage of hierarchical moral development is still not the best if oppression persists and survival is at stake for the marginalized.[114] Perhaps Linda Nicholson is correct in her

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[112]Because humans create norms of development in their theories of development, survival-based morality as an early stage of morality becomes pre-normative or pre-conventional and therefore developmentally retarded. See Marx Wartofsky, "On the Creation and Transformation of Norms of Human Development," Value Presuppositions in Theories on Human Development, eds. Leonard Cirillo and Seymour Wapner (Hillside, N.J.: Erlbaum, 1986), 114.

[113]Gilligan, "Do the Social Sciences," 33.

[114]According to Charlotte Bunch the moral problem of survival is why diversity must mean inequality, in her keynote address "A Global Perspective on Feminist Ethics and Diversity," Explorations in Feminist Ethics Conference, Duluth, October 1988.

contention "that Gilligan's stage model of moral development is as biased against non-Western, non-white, and non-middle-class women as was Kohlberg's, only now minus the sexism."[115]

In many situations the need to survive will force one to act in certain ways, and if one is forced, if options do not exist, then some would not consider these decisions and actions to be moral. It is commonly assumed that morality demands freedom of choice. Political and moral theorist Robert Nozick, for example, believes that freedom rather than equality is the core of justice.[116] And it is also commonly assumed that if people do not have the freedom to choose, they cannot be said to be acting morally.[117] And while the oppressed may have the freedom to act, they often do not have the freedom to claim the benefits of acting, and thus freedom as the constitutive element of morality must be abandoned for truth -- "truth which aims at solidarity against oppression."[118] This is similar to Sara Ruddick's belief that the moral domain includes choice, but more importantly it

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[115]Linda Nicholson, "Women, Morality and History," Social Research 50 (1983): 533.

[116]Robert Nozick, Anarchy, State, and Utopia (New York: Basic, 1974), 54.

[117]This is the position of Haan, Aerts, and Cooper, 25.

[118]Cannon, 2. The priority of the value of truth in relationship to justice and equality is reaffirmed in Anne Witte Garland, xxiii.

includes telling the truth about the demands of the oppressed.[119]
Real freedom for all only emerges from justice based on truth.

The relationship of freedom and justice to individualism is
a close one in bourgeois ideology. Prevailing understandings of
justice as the right and freedom to "do as you please unless it
interferes with someone else" effectively allows dominant
individual or group rights to prevail unless stopped.[120] Hence,
the constraint aspect of justice actually reinforces patriarchal
and class oppression. What is different today from the old
Protestant middle class is that freedom and individualism have
been severed from civic responsibility, according to Michael
Hughey.[121] In so doing they have also lost their means of
accountability. But even the old middle class did not feel
morally compelled to end exploitation.[122] That is the moral
project of our times.

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[119]Sara Ruddick's views are discussed in Patricia Ward
Scaltsas, "Do Feminist Ethics Counter Feminist Aims?"
Explorations in Feminist Ethics Conference, Duluth, October 1988.

[120]This is the main point of Ann Richtman, "The Golden Rule
and the Pyramid of Power," Explorations in Feminist Ethics
Conference, Duluth, October 1988.

[121]Michael W. Hughey, Civil Religion and Moral Order:
Theoretical and Historical Dimensions (Westport, Conn.:
Greenwood, 1983), 139.

[122]In response to the question, "why not remain radical
individualists?" the functionalist social theory response would
be "Because we are one body and our happiness lies in realizing
our common good." The conflict social theory response is
"Because we are two classes and we must all suffer separately
until we abolish exploitation together." See George Scialabba,
"A Calling To Solidarity?" Christianity and Crisis 49, no. 15
(1989): 339.

The definition of morality used in this paper is concerned with duties and obligations. One has a duty to be just. According to Lugones and Spelman, we are "obligated to give up imperialism, [and] this is mutual and revolutionary."[123] But does one also have a duty to care? Legally, of course, we have no such obligation, although we do have obligations to protect individuality and to be individually non-violent. Yet, we are morally responsible not only to constrain one another from interfering or hurting others, but we are also obligated to enhance life not only for those who are dependent but for us all. The need to renew our responsibility to something greater than each individual's rights is a pressing one.[124]

The bourgeois ideology of individualism renders justice and care powerless and enhances their liabilities for furthering this sense of communal responsibility, however. The domination and inequality of imperialism excludes the privileged from the costs and excludes the marginalized from the benefits that imperialism produces. And we are all blinded to those realities because individualism never pushes us to see our mutual vulnerability and responsibility. So we fail to detect inequality and exclusion as moral dilemmas. What is required, therefore is to hear/see the

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[123]Lugones and Spelman, "Have We Got a Theory for You!" 24. They suggest we are not obligated to care.

[124]David Bakan believes that Kohlberg's theory of moral development focuses on "agentic" development, but that there is also a need for "communal" development, in The Duality of Human Existence (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966).

perspective of the marginalized and the epistemological advantage it entails.[125]

The ideology of individualism not only is responsible for the development of concepts like identity, autonomy, and self-interest[126] so crucial to bourgeois mental health and social functioning, but also for the individualizing and privatizing of problems, feelings, thoughts, imagination, memory, skills, coping resources, responsibility, values, and power. We then simply tolerate each other's problems, feelings, words, and values, thus effectively neutralizing them. And we prioritize them without any moral guidance, but according to who has the power and strength, who competes and wins amid (the myth of) scarcity.[127]

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[125]In a recent coding manual of the Gilligan group at Harvard, one finds these instructions in looking for equality and inequality: "Is there an inherent inequality or power differential in the relationships -- e.g. parent-child; patient-doctor; boss-employee; teacher-student -- so that one person appears more vulnerable than the other? Does the person represent or emphasize this inequality; is it pertinent to the conflict or dilemma?" See Brown, Gilligan, et al.

[126]Higher support for feminism was frequently due to need for role consistancy than appeal to self-interest among some women, according to Josefina Figuerra-McDonough, "Gender, Race and Class: Differences in Levels of Feminist Orientation," Journal of Applied Behavioral Science 21, no. 2 (1985): 137. I suggest this is often because women have trouble defining their self-interest, because it is such an individualistic concept.

[127] The links between patriarchy, capitalism, the myth of scarcity, and the social construction of the experience of envy are explored in Michael Gross and Mary Beth Averill, "Evolution and Patriarchal Myths of Scarcity and Competition," Discovering Reality: Feminist Perspectives on Epistemology, Metaphysics, Methodology and Philosophy of Science, eds. Sandra Harding and Merrill Hintikka (Dordrecht, Holland: Reidel, 1983), 71-95. However, competition is not unique to males, but is found among any who believe that resources are scarce and limited, according to Daniel Druckman et al., "Cultural Differences in Bargaining

Individualism perpetuates a system in which the weak are shamed and too many people live without food, clothing, homes, jobs, medical care. And it is not because there is not enough. It is because some have too much. Yet, according to John Raines and Donna Day-Lower, the new global economy is forcing us to recognize that deeper than our selfishness is our vulnerability and need for community.[128] What we are missing is the mutual and vulnerable passionate exchange of energies in solidarity with the oppressed for the creation of a more life-giving community and a new world in which we discover that there was enough for everyone all along.[129]

The psychological goals of enhancing autonomy and one's sense of identity are lacking in moral rigor to solve the dilemmas of inequality and exclusion from community due to their grounding in the bourgeois ideology of individualism.[130]

Behavior: India, Argentina, and the U.S.," Journal of Conflict Resolution 20 (1976): 413-52. Those at the level of conventional moral thinking generally reflect assumptions of scarcity (that there isn't enough wealth, property, status, or authority for everyone), according to Charles Hampden-Turner and Phillip Whitten, "Morals Left and Right," Psychology Today, April 1971: 74, and also frequently have feelings of inferiority and inadequacy, according to D. Krech, R. S. Crutchfield, and E. L. Ballachey, Individual in Society (New York: McGraw Hill, 1962), 526.

[128]Raines and Day-Lower, 20.

[129]This is a unity toward wholeness of the human community rather than the tyranny of bonding around shared oppression alone with nothing to transcend that pain and suffering, which is a problem noted by Raymond, 181.

[130]Bourgeois society found the individual as autonomous and no longer defined by the hierarchical and positional relationships of feudal society. Social relationships were

Autonomy in its complex form is a character structure which is
needed more than it needs, is largely left alone to its own
problems and rewards, and places a premium on self-control, cool
indifference, and mastery. Autonomous persons use either
violence or shame (an effect of indifference) to discipline, and
in the absence of equality they engender numbness and
withdrawal.[131] Identity, of course, indicates a freely chosen
way of being a united and persistant personality, although in the
working class freedom is tenuous and marginal, and the person who
has achieved a united, persistant personality when a flexible
dual "identity" is a survival skill is living precariously. More
importantly the idea of identity has no particular moral
authority or relevance.[132] The mere ideas of community and

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negotiated by contract in the 17th and 18th century, with social-
historical relations serving as environment or context only. The
individual was now a knowing subject and the prime moral agent
standing apart from the determinism of nature. See Ruth L.
Smith, "Feminism and the Moral Subject," Women's Consciousness,
Women's Conscience: A Reader in Feminist Ethics, eds. Barbara H.
Andolsen, Christine E. Gudorf, and Mary D. Pellauer (Minneapolis:
Winston, 1985), 236-7.

[131]Sennett, Authority, 84-116.

[132]One of several attempts to find a correlation between J.
E. Marcia's four identity types (identity achievement, diffusion,
moratorium, and foreclosure) and Kohlberg's stages of moral
development is M. H. Podd, "Ego Identity Status and Morality: The
Relationship Between Two Developmental Constructs," Developmental
Psychology 6, no. 3 (1972): 497-507. While identity achievement
was likely to correlate with post-conventional thought, there was
no correlation between identity diffusion and pre-conventional
thought, between identity foreclosure and conventional thought,
or that there were differences in locus of control between the
four groups as hypothesized.

relationship, for that matter, are also morally neutral and can be used for good or ill.[133]

Pastoral counseling is a moral project whose goal is not to enhance one's sense of identity and autonomy for principled moral thinking, but psychologically to overcome deficits in one's sense of integrity, dignity, self-respect,[134] and socially to enhance skills for cooperation in solving life's dilemmas of inequality and exclusion from community.

In the Kantian sense, respect refers to treating others as ends rather than as means to an end, the universal or generalized regarding with esteem in light of one's humanness. Stephen Darwall calls it "recognition respect" (that something is a person, a being with moral status,)[135] in contrast to "evaluative respect" (regarding with esteem with a view to merit of character traits or conduct).[136] Kantian respect is a minimal though significant level of respect which in effect says: I may not care for you, but someone might, so I respect and constrain my actions toward you. A third kind of respect suggested by Robin Dillon and not included in recognition or evaluative respect, because

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[133]Sociable selves are not inherently better than autonomous selves, nor are they capable of critiquing individualism, according to Marilyn Friedman, "Feminism and Modern Friendship: Dislocating the Community," Explorations in Feminist Ethics Conference, Duluth, October 1988.

[134]Meyers, 151.

[135]Stephen Darwall, "Two Kinds of Respect," Ethics 88 (1977): 36-49.

[136]Stephen Hudson, "The Nature of Respect," Social Theory and Practice 6 (1980): 69-90.

both are blind to individual personalities, is called "care respect," a form of recognition respect which values one's individual particularity, non-replaceability, non-intersubstitutability, and is thereby closely related to "dignity."[137]

Care-respect requires a differential response; asks us to identify with the other, to see her and her world from her point of view; values her as irreplaceable in virtue of her particularity; and responds to her need for help in pursuing her ends. While self-respect depends on being respected by others, care does not itself bestow respect or dignity, but rather opens the capacity to see oneself as having dignity and therefore self-respect. To respect oneself in regard to one's particularity then means to take responsibility for creating and responding to oneself and to know oneself by recognizing and valuing one's life, one's interdependency, one's history and destiny, and by perceiving one's flaws and merits.

In being valued one comes to value oneself, whether for one's humanity or one's uniqueness. When one is treated equitably one's sense of self-respect and dignity is enhanced,

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[137]Robin Dillon, "Care and Respect," Explorations in Feminist Ethics Conference, Duluth, October 1988. Dillon helpfully notes that respect requires a reason (unlike liking or loving) although the reason does not precede or justify the respect; when the reason is correct, however, the respect is justified.

which in turn enhances one's sense of security and efficacy as well as resilience and flexibility in problem solving.[138]

As noted by Adlerian Rudolf Dreikurs, love and affection are natural in a good relationship but they are not the basis of it. Rather, mutual respect which creates a relationship between equals provides that basis. In such relationships one is both kind and firm, showing respect for the other and respect for self. Freedom is a derivative rather than a primary value. Encouragement for self-respect allows one's inherent creativity expression, which if used for more adequate solutions to social interest, creates a self-determining and free human community.[139]

When one's self-esteem and self-respect is lowered through regarding oneself as viewed by others to be deficient or through comparing oneself to others and evaluating oneself as deficient, one can react in a variety of ways: by trying harder, by showing how others' accomplishments are different than one's own, by showing how people are interconnected and therefore another's success enhances one's own, by doing nothing, or by responding with envy.[140] Envy is the begrudging of another's attainments and belittling of another to protect the self from self-

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[138]Rutter, 60.

[139]Rudolf Dreikurs, Character Education and Spiritual Values in an Anxious Age (1952; reprint, Chicago: Adler Institute, 1971), 7-15.

[140]John Sabini and Maury Silver, Moralities of Everyday Life (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 33.

demeaning.[141] The observation that women are the envious sex[142] and that the poor and working class are the envious class[143] are systemic observations about the creation and diminution of self-esteem in a competitive system.

Because neither the working class nor women in this culture are valued and because self-esteem is rooted in valuing, working-class women are not expected to have self-esteem. But as pointed out by Lena Myers, a symbolic interactionist, "selectivity in roles and reference groups allow for self-esteem in many marginalized people."[144] She interviewed 250 Midwestern black women, over three-fourths of whom found their self esteem in reference to class and race groups rather than the white middle-class norm. Hence, self-esteem is also possible through appropriate selection of the reference group in relation to which one finds value.

However, from an Adlerian and Marxist perspective, self-esteem emerges from the creative expression of self in cooperation with others to work and love, for the enhancement of social interest through the overcoming of inequality and

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[141]Sabini and Silver, 26-28.

[142]M. Scheler, _Ressentiment_, trans. W. Holdheim (1910; reprint, New York: Free Press, 1961), cited in Sabini and Silver, 32.

[143]Osthathios, 123.

[144]Lena Wright Myers, "Black Women and Self Esteem," _Another Voice: Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science_, eds. Marcia Millman and Rosabeth Moss Kanter (New York: Anchor, 1975), 240.

exclusion in community throughout history. Inherent in such an
"overcoming" is a living toward the future and a resistance to
anything that perpetuates dominance into the future.[145] The
pursuit of self-integrity and self-esteem as moral projects of
pastoral counseling suggests the need for an unimpaired and
undivided adherence to this moral perspective toward the
completion of persons in community. It also suggests the giving
up of the competitive and individualistic consciousness of
bourgeois culture for cooperative excursions into conflict
resolution.

Reproduction: A Case for Reconstruction in Morality

The issues of controlling reproduction (birth control),
halting reproduction (abortion), and losing the ability to
reproduce biologically (sterilization) are key moral issues for
working-class women. While contraception was first adopted in
eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe by the propertied class,
its use has now expanded to other classes as well, although
segments of the population are still uninformed or misinformed
about its use and availability.[146] Issues of control of

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[145]The place of "maternal thinking" as it relates to the
elimination of domination and moves toward peace is that it
nurtures for the future, according to Sara Ruddick, "Maternal
Thinking and Peace Politics," Explorations in Feminist Ethics
Conference, Duluth, October 1988.

[146]Edward Shorter, "Female Emancipation, Birth Control, and
Fertility in European History," American Historical Review 78
(1973): 629, as cited in Edward Shorter, The Making of the Modern
Family (New York: Basic, 1975), 331.

reproduction are of concern to all women, but especially to poor and working-class women, as evidenced in the fact that before abortion was legalized in New York state, 80 percent of deaths from illegal abortions were among black and Puerto Rican women, the majority of whom were economically strained.[147] Because reproduction is a societal function which patriarchy and capitalism have delegated to women, and because patterns of reproduction both determine and are determined by social class, reproduction in general and abortion in particular may be the most important issues around which to analyze class differences in moral decision making among women.[148]

In the Kansas City study, women were asked "what would you do if you discovered you were pregnant and didn't want to be? Why?" Post-menopausal women were asked, "what would you say to your daughter or other close woman friend who discovered she was pregnant and didn't want to be? Why?" An equal percentage (40 percent) of both middle-class and working-class women said that they would have an abortion, or recommend same.[149] But 20

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[147]Cited in Johnetta Cole, 19.

[148]The issues of contraception and abortion do not exhaust the moral spectrum of reproductive rights. Health care of poor women (including maternity care), child care for under-employed women, as well as an end to forced sterilization are also moral issues of survival that are related to the reproductive rights of marginalized women, according to Beverly Fisher-Manick, "Race and Class: Beyond Personal Politics," Building Feminist Theory: Essays From Quest, eds. Charlotte Bunch et al. (New York: Longman, 1981), 158.

[149]Kristin Luker, Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) suggests that those women most likely to be anti-abortion are those who

percent of the middle class and 47 percent of the working class said they would have the child and give it up for adoption, or recommend same. And 40 percent of the middle class and 13 percent of the working class said they would have and keep the baby, or recommend same.

The reasons for taking a particular action around unwanted pregnancy, however, were strikingly different. Reasons among middle-class women were equally divided among relationship-related, achievement-related, morality-related, and survival-related reasons. They appealed to the covenant relationship with husband and the ability to afford another, the desire not to have another due to age (and attendant desire to use her time for professional concerns), to individual conscience, and to difficulty affording a child. Working-class women, however, revealed a preponderance of morality-related and survival-related reasons. They reported two relationship-related reasons: (1) I'd

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understand their job to be that of mother and those who favor abortion tend to have other work they can call their "job." Similarly, Susan Fischmen suggests that those who deliver full-term babies rather than having an abortion may also have fewer alternatives for recognition and status, because they also generally have less education, than those who abort, in "Delivery or Abortion in Inner-City Adolescents," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 47 (1977): 127-33. Single women are much more likely to be conflicted over the decision to abort than are married and post-married women, because on the whole the stability and supportiveness of their social environment is less, which affects the level of her responsibility and her survival, according to Michael B. Bracken, "An Epidemiological Study of Psychosocial Correlates of Delayed Decisions to Abort," Dissertation Abstracts International 35 (1975), 3425B. But to remain at this level is to pit woman against woman and fails to recognize that reproduction is a moral and survival question about the struggle for personal and social power and its continuation.

be too strict as a parent, (2) There are too many abused and unwanted children already. They reported no achievement-related reasons. They reported six morality-related reasons: (1) I don't believe in abortion, I'd have it and give it up, (2) I'd have no choice, it's my religious belief, (3) It's murder and I don't have the right to kill, (4) I don't believe in ending life, (5) We have to do lots of things we don't want to that may still be right, (6) You don't make promises and break 'em.[150] And they reported seven survival-related reasons: (1) I couldn't handle it financially, (2) She had no way to take care of it, nor did her parents, (3) My daughter had no skills and would have had to raise the child on her own, (4) I am just so tired of being a mother, (5) I couldn't take care of another [handicapped child], (6) I've seen so many poor, hungry kids, (7) No question, let's just get this over with.

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[150]Of course beliefs about abortion do not always turn out to match behavior in regard to abortion. In a review of both opinions and behavior around abortion in the decade of the 1970's, Michael Combs and Susan Welch discovered that those more inclined to believe in abortion were those with higher levels of formal education, occupational status, income, urban and northern residence. Those least inclined to believe in abortion were Catholics and those who attended church frequently. Hence, black women were among those less likely to believe in abortion, although the abortion rate for black women was three times that of white women. Combs and Welch concluded that black women must find abortion necessary and were therefore willing to act on that need even though they didn't believe in it. This dichotomization of moral judgment and moral behavior emerges from the pervasive bourgeois understanding that questions of survival are at best pre-moral, and it is believed that even among those who do not believe in abortion as a moral option, issues of survival persuade one toward abortion. See Michael W. Combs and Susan Welch, "Blacks, Whites, and Attitudes Toward Abortion," Public Opinion Quarterly 46 (1982): 510-20.

Carol Gilligan's <u>In a Different Voice</u> focuses on moral decision making among women seeking abortion in establishing the theory that women's moral decisions are based on a sense of relational connection with the aim of not doing violence. Among the primarily employed group of women in the Kansas City study, this relational rationale for decisions was not at all paramount. Not only was there an absence of relationship-related reasons for decisions about unwanted pregnancy in both the middle and working classes, but there was also a strong appeal among working-class women to moral rules, beliefs, and principles as well as a strong appeal to survival-related reasons. Nor is there anything morally primitive about their survival-related reasons -- they are in fact quite caring.

The results of The Values Scale may provide some insight into the differing results of the Gilligan study and the Kansas City study. In prioritizing the 21 values among the responses of middle-class women and working-class women, it was discovered that the greatest disparities in rank ordering between classes (positional differences of four or more) were that middle-class women were much more likely to rank the values of social interaction, social relations, and working conditions highly than were working-class women.[151] And working-class women were much

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[151]The higher the social class of women the more likely they are to define their role in terms of the activity of maintaining personal relationships rather than that of routine housekeeping, according to C. Slater, "Class Differences in Definition of Role and Membership in Voluntary Associations and Among Urban Married Women," <u>American Journal of Sociology</u> 65 (1959-60): 616-19. More specifically, the aspect of the maternal role stressed as most

more likely to rank the values of advancement, economic rewards, and aesthetics highly than were middle-class women. Social interaction and relations as values and as reasons for decisions are more highly ranked among values in the middle class. Economics and the advancement which could improve economic rewards are ranked significantly more highly among poor and working-class women than among middle-class women.

Based on this rudimentary data, it is hypothesized that Carol Gilligan's moral theory about Stage 1 survival-related decisions and Stages 2 and 3 relationship-related decisions reflects not steps to progressively more advanced moral decision making, but types of decisions which are related to the interface of production and reproduction patterns manifest in socioeconomic classes. For many poor and working-class women survival is <u>the</u> moral issue and it will remain so until economic and political stuctures are transformed to reflect equality in community.

The predominant position of the middle-class feminist movement is that reproductive rights are important because they recognize an important individual freedom of women.[152] And the

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significant by lower-class women was that of caring for physical needs, while middle-class women identified the development of character and morality in their children, and upper-class women identified handling social and emotional needs, according to James W. Swinehart, "Socio-Economic Level, Status Aspirations and Maternal Role," <u>American Sociological Review</u> 28 (1963): 391-99.

[152]See Colin Grant, "Feminist Theology is Middle Class," <u>Encounter</u> 45, no.4 (1984): 398. Abortion as a middle-class option for women who feel stigmatized by premarital pregnancy is highlighted by Nanette Roberts, "American Women and Life-Style Change," <u>Christian Feminism</u>, ed. Judith L. Weidman (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1984), 110.

prevailing anti-abortion ideology also revolves around rights --
rights of the fetus that temporarily is not free to protect its
own right to life.[153] But the morally significant aspect of the
availability of abortion is not as a guarantee of reproductive
freedom, as claimed by Rosalind Petchesky.[154] Rather, its legal
availability increases the likelihood of survival for women more
than does its absence. And its availability increases the
likelihood of equality among women, since middle-class and upper-
class women will always find a way to buy an abortion. As a
working-class woman named Lee remarked, "I gave myself two
abortions and didn't feel no guilt since I knew I couldn't take
care of them."[155] Such survival decisions are often the lesser
of two evils, as evidenced in Lee's continuing remarks: "I tend
to think of things in relation, comparing them. 'This is pretty
rough, but it would have been rougher if I had done the other.' .
. . I make up my mind and then don't remember any more emotional
stress about it."[156]

Interestingly, Carol Gilligan's In a Different Voice
emphasizes, as does classical moral theory of the dominant class,
the importance of freedom of choice and responsibility in moral

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[153]Abortion framed in terms of principles is volatile
because it revolves around self-esteem and threats to it,
according to Meacham, 163.

[154]Rosalind Pollack Petchesky, Abortion and Woman's Choice:
The State, Sexuality, and Reproductive Freedom (Boston:
Northeastern University Press, 1985).

[155]Buss, 185.

[156]Buss, 187.

decisions.[157] As noted by Mary Ann O'Loughlin, Gilligan's understanding of "responsibility" is uncertain, but she seems to conclude that because birth control is available to women and because they are the ones who can get pregnant, they are therefore responsible and liable if they do not control their fertility.[158] She does not consider that these are shared rather than individual decisions, and she evaluates those who forego their right to abortion as less morally developed.[159]

The individualistic bias of Gilligan is replicated in the responses of the middle-class women in the Kansas City study as they reveal the process through which they make moral decisions. Middle-class women in the Kansas City study describe their decision making basically as a three-fold process: (1) thinking of and weighing the positives and negatives, (2) considering the impact on others, and (3) deciding. While the decisions have relational implications, they occur entirely within the woman's head. Working-class women in the Kansas City study, on the other hand, describe a different process of making moral decisions: (1) getting information, (2) talking it out, (3) playing "what if", and (4) getting everyone to accept responsibility. Working-class women are more likely to participate in actual dialogue rather than relying on internal dialogue to arrive at decisions of

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[157]Gilligan, In a Different Voice, 67.

[158]Mary Ann O'Loughlin, "Responsibility and Moral Maturity in the Control of Fertility -- or Woman's Place is in the Wrong," Social Research 50, no. 3 (1983): 568.

[159]O'Loughlin, 573.

shared rather than autonomous responsibility. It is social morality at its best, reflecting clearly the epistemological advantage of the poor and oppressed.

Working-class morality is not only communally dialogical, but can also be considered dialectical. Women in the Kansas City study were asked "Why do good?" and the middle-class women responded with some clear visions of an improved future. One should do what is good because "it makes a better world" and "it's more adaptive," because "it's right," because it helps us "to get along better," because "it's easier, things go better," and because "it leads to a satisfied feeling, it feels good." Women in the working class gave some of these same answers: because "it makes me feel good" (x6), because "we have to live with ourselves," because of "that inner thing inside directing us," because "it's productive, everything which has its source in God produces good," and because "it makes a better world." But some women in the working class also answered with a clear awareness of a deficit situation, an awareness that what is moral must at least grapple with if not improve an evil situation. One should do what is good because "why do bad and be unhappy," because "I couldn't live with my creator if I didn't make the effort," because "doing bad invites itself," because "we pay if we do otherwise" (x2), because "it is better than doing bad," and one should do what is good "to survive and avoid the streets." To be moral is no easy course to follow. It means resisting the

temptations of another way and calls us to that which is best and true in the human community.

Finally, when women in the Kansas City study were asked the values and attitudes most important in guiding their own lives, neither middle-class nor working-class women mentioned "freedom" or "achievement." Rather "honesty, fairness, and treating others equally" were mentioned in nearly equal proportions by both working-class and middle-class women. Middle-class women in the Kansas City study mentioned the values of "love, concern, and kindness" more frequently than did the working class, which may reflect the same dynamic that was operating in Gilligan's discovery of care-based morality among middle-class women in her samples. Most striking, however, is the fact that one-third of the working-class women but no middle-class women mentioned the value of "keeping promises."

It has been suggested that morality is best understood not so much in terms of what is good or right, but what is true in an existential way. Keeping promises is a concrete way of telling the truth in history, it is an expression of integrity and wholeness in which verbalization and action are one, intention and consequence are held together, problem and solution are united toward a better world. According to research on The Values Scale, differences in values between groups/classes are not due to genetics or socialization but "what is required of a

group to live successfully with the cultural majority."[160] Thus,
the striking working-class value around "keeping promises" is a
culturally formed value resulting from structural patterns of
dominance-submission. The relationship between truth and the
oppression of poverty is made clear in our Biblical heritage:

> Two things I ask of thee; deny them not to me before I
> die: Remove far from me falsehood and lying; give me
> neither poverty nor riches; feed me with the food that
> is needful for me, lest I be full, and deny thee, and
> say, "Who is the Lord?" or lest I be poor, and steal,
> and profane the name of my God. (Prov. 30:7)[161]

Doing the truth is therefore to abolish both poverty and riches
that all may know the kin-dom of God.

In the Judeo-Christian tradition morality is rooted not in
the authority proclaimed or the consequences of action, but in
attending to the structures of human community which live out the
commitment to "do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy
God." (Mic. 6:8) The truth of that faithfulness is told in the
story of God's people as justice solves inequality of power,
compassion solves isolated suffering and dead relations, and
humility solves our being led astray and seduced by idols. The
prophet Micah tells us what we are to do -- justice. He tells
us how we are to do it -- non-violently or loving mercy. And he
tells us we act not alone, but walking humbly with (not ahead of

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[160]M. C. Casserly, "A Comparison of Patterns of Values of
Anglophone, Francophone, Native and Immigrant Canadians," Values
and Roles in Diverse Modern Societies, ed. Donald E. Super
(Montreal: AEKA Symposium, 1983), 20.

[161]All references are to the Revised Standard Version unless
noted.

or behind) our (not my) God. In this way we fulfill what is required of us, our obligation, our moral duty.

CHAPTER 5

Pastoral Counseling with Working-Class Women

> Those patients who do not possess a reasonable
> degree of education . . . should be refused.
> --Sigmund Freud[1]

Since the pioneering empirical study of A. B. Hollingshead and F. C. Redlich in 1958 the discriminatory psychiatric services received by persons of differing socioeconomic classes have been known and well documented.[2] Specifically, persons in their sample who belonged to the lower classes received more pharmacological and electro-convulsive treatment as well as confinement, in contrast to persons in higher classes who received more psychotherapy. Since this important work and the passage of community mental health legislation in 1963, there has been much literature on various aspects of the psychotherapeutic process as it relates to socioeconomic class.

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[1]Sigmund Freud, "On Psychotherapy" (1905), Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works, trans. and ed. James Strachey, vol. 7.6 (London: Hogarth Press, 1953), quoted in Eric Bromley, "Social Class Issues in Psychotherapy," Psychology and Psychotherapy: Current Trends and Issues, ed. David Pilgrim (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983), 205.

[2]A. B. Hollingshead and F. C. Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness (New York: Wiley, 1958), designated their groups I and II as higher classes and groups III, IV, and V as lower classes.

Review of the Literature

A most helpful review of the literature on counseling the
working-class client was offered in 1983 by Eric Bromley, who
summarized the studies around six primary foci.[3] While expanding
Bromley's findings with additional research of the 1980's, the
following survey will utilize his foci as helpful and suggestive:

First, Bromley asked if lower-class patients were less
likely to be chosen for psychotherapy, and found that studies
were of two types: those that surveyed existing practices and
those which were simulations of patient selection. In the few
simulation studies the answer tended to be "yes, lower-class
persons _are_ less likely to be chosen for psychotherapy."[4] And
the majority of studies of actual practice confirmed this
result.[5] There have been relatively fewer studies of reported

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[3]Bromley, 204-27.

[4]See D. W. Rowden et al., "Judgments About Candidates for
Psychotherapy: The Influence of Social Class and Insight-Verbal
Ability," _Journal of Health and Social Behavior_ 11, no. 1 (1970):
51-58; J.D. Meltzer, "A Semiotic Approach to Suitability for
Psychotherapy," _Psychiatry_ 41, no. 4 (1978): 360-76; S. D. Lee
et al., "Social Class, Diagnosis and Prognosis for
Psychotherapy," _Psychotherapy, Theory, Research and Practice_ 7,
no.3 (1970): 181-85.

[5]Alan L. Grey, "Social Class and the Psychiatric Patient: A
Study in Composite Character," _Class and Personality in Society_,
ed. Alan L. Grey (New York: Atherton, 1969), 136-60. L. Schaffer
and J. L. Myers, "Psychotherapy and Social Stratification,"
Psychiatry 17 (1954): 83-93. F. C. Redlich et al., "Social Class
Differences in Attitudes Towards Psychiatry," _American Journal of
Orthopsychiatry_ 25 (1955): 60-70. D. Rosenthal and J. D. Frank,
"The Fate of Psychiatric Clinic Outpatients Assigned to
Psychotherapy," _Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease_ 127 (1958):
330-42. M. A. Bailey et al., "A Study in Factors Related to
Length of Stay in Psychotherapy," _Journal of Clinical Psychology_
15 (1959): 442-44. Norman Q. Brill and Hugh A. Storrow, "Social

practice showing no social-class discrimination in acceptance for

psychotherapy, most of these being after 1970.[6] In some

Class and Psychiatric Treatment," <u>Archives of General Psychiatry</u> 3 (1960): 340-44. H. Lief et al., "Low Dropout Rate in a Psychiatric Clinic, Special Reference to Psychotherapy and Social Class," <u>Archives of General Psychiatry</u> 5 (1961): 200-11. N. Cole, "Some Relationships Between Social Class and the Practice of Dynamic Psychotherapy," <u>American Journal of Psychiatry</u> 118 (1962): 1004-12. S. Harrison et al., "Social Class and Mental Illness in Children: Choice of Treatment," <u>Archives of General Psychiatry</u> 13 (1965): 411-16. J. Yanamoto and M. K. Goin, "Social Class Factors Relevant for Psychiatric Treatment," <u>Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease</u> 142 (1966): 332-39. H. R. Thain, "Diagnosis of Maladaptive Behavior and Prognosis for Psychotherapy in Relation to Social Class," <u>Dissertation Abstracts International</u> 29, no. 6-B (1968): 2211-12. R. W. Daly and F. A. Johnson, "The Effects of Age, Education and Occupation on Psychiatric Disposition," <u>Social Science and Medicine</u> 4, no. 6 (1970): 619-28. R. I. Shader, "The Walk-in Service: An Experience in Community Care," <u>Changing Patterns in Psychiatric Care</u>, ed. T. Rothman (New York: Crown, 1970). J. H. Marx and S. L. Spray, "Psychotherapeutic 'Birds of a Feather' Social Class Status -- Religio-Cultural Value Homophily in the Mental Health Field," <u>Journal of Health and Social Behavior</u> 13 (1972): 413-28. P. Balch and K. Miller, "Social Class and the Community Mental Health Center," <u>American Journal of Community Psychology</u> 2, no. 3 (1974): 243-53. James P. Schmidt and Richard Hancey, "Class and Psychiatric Treatment: Applications of a Decision-Making Model to Use Patterns in a Cost-Free Clinic," <u>Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology</u> 47, no. 4 (1979): 771-72.

[6]H. F. Albronde et al., "Social Class and Psychotherapy," <u>Archives of General Psychiatry</u> 10 (1964): 276-83. J. Baker and N. Wagner, "Social Class and Treatment in a Child Psychiatry Clinic," <u>Archives of General Psychiatry</u> 14 (1966): 129-33. W. Chess, "The Influence of Social Class on the Selection of Patients for Treatment in Ohio's Mental Health Clinic Program," <u>Dissertation Abstracts International</u> 26 (1966): 6989. C. D. Lowe and A. L. Ziglin, "Social Class and the Treatment of Alcoholic Patients," <u>Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol</u> 34 (1973): 173-84. P. Wold and J. Steger, "Social Class and Group Therapy in a Working Class Population," <u>Community Mental Health</u> 12, no. 4 (1976): 335-41. S. M. Springer, "Social Class in the Mental Health Center," <u>Psychiatry</u> 49, no.1 (1977): 62-71. M. S. Stern, "Social Class and Psychiatric Treatment of Adults in the Mental Health Center," <u>Journal of Health and Social Behavior</u> 18 (1977): 317-25. A. Frank et al., "Are There Social Class Differences in Patients' Treatment Conceptions?" <u>Archives of General Psychiatry</u> 35, no.1 (1978): 61-69.

settings, however, while there may be no class bias in the acceptance of clients for therapy, upper-class patients are seen by psychiatrists and psychiatric residents, while the lower classes are seen by social workers or perhaps by psychologists.[7] Most of these studies are of the American mental health scene, although one study each of the United Kingdom, Israel, and Switzerland indicate similar findings.[8]

Second, Bromley asked if lower-class patients want psychotherapy and discovered that the answer is mixed. The discrepant participation in psychotherapy by socioeconomic class noted by Hollingshead and Redlich begs the question "why?" One suggested reason is that there is no demand for psychotherapy in the lower classes. Studies from the 1960s tend to indicate that lower-class patients do not want psychotherapy, as do some studies in the 1970s.[9] Several studies indicate that the lower

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[7]Baker and Wagner. An interesting picture of the relative power of helping professionals is offered by Miriam Greenspan, A New Approach to Women and Therapy (New York: McGraw Hill, 1983), 42. She sees the psychiatrist as head of the mental health family, the social worker as the psychiatric wife and mother who works hard but has no authority, the psychologist as the oldest son, and the counselors as illegitimate children who are "disquietingly like their clients" (i.e., brown, black, working-class, female). Differential therapeutic assignment by race is noted in the referral of blacks to group counseling and whites to individual counseling, as well as the referral of blacks to crisis counseling and whites to long-term therapy in D. Y. Wilkinson, "Minority Women: Social Cultural Issues," Women and Psychotherapy, ed. Annette M. Brodsky and Rachel T. Hare-Mustin (New York: Guilford Press, 1980), 298.

[8]Bromley, 208.

[9]L. J. Bookbinder and L. J. Gussman, "Social Attainment, Pre-Morbid Adjustment and Participation in Inpatient Psychiatric Treatment," Journal of Clinical Psychology 20 (1964): 513-15. J.

classes tended to be more oriented to a medical solution to perceived problems than a psychotherapeutic one.[10] Others found that lower-class clients expect more direction, action, and support from the mental health system than is true of the middle class.[11]

Most studies since the 1970s, however, tend to show a remarkable similarity in help wanted by different socioeconomic classes.[12] Kulka and colleagues note that between 1957 and 1976 members of the adult American population became more likely to define their personal problems in psychological terms, more

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B. Heitler, "Clinical Impressions of an Experimental Attempt to Prepare Lower-Class Patients for Expressive Group Psychotherapy," *International Journal of Group Psychtherapy* 24, no. 3 (1974): 308-22.

[10]Brill and Storrow, 340. Hugh A. Storrow, "Psychiatric Treatment and the Lower Class Neurotic Patient," *Archives of General Psychiatry* 6 (1962): 469-77. D. A. Carlson et al., "Problems in Treating the Lower Class Psychotic," *Archives of General Psychiatry* 13 (1965): 269-74. Stern, 318.

[11]B. Overall and H. Aronson, ""Expectations of Psychotherapy in Patients of Lower Socio-economic Class," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 33 (1963): 421-430. K. Klein, "Parental Preference for Counseling Approaches as a Function of Social Class," *Dissertation Abstracts International* 28 (1967): 2141-B. S. M. Miller, *Social Class and Social Policy* (New York: Basic, 1968), 162.

[12]D. J. Fitzgibbons et al., "Patients' Self-Perceived Treatment Needs and Their Relationship to Background Variables," *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 37, no. 2 (1971): 253-58. Balch and Miller. Raymond P. Lorion, "Social Class, Treatment Attitudes and Expectations," *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 42, no. 6 (1974): 920. M. K. Goin et al., "Therapy Congruent with Class-Linked Expectations," *Archives of General Psychiatry* 13 (1965): 133-37. A. Frank et al. Richard Kulka, Joseph Veroff, and Elizabeth Douvan, "Social Class and the Use of Professional Help for Personal Problems: 1957 and 1976," *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 20 (1979): 2-17.

likely to have sought professional help for their problems, less often adopted a self-help position when considering possible future problems, though the higher the education the more all of these proved true. Schmidt and Hancey found in their Veterans Hospital sample that the lower classes actually sought therapy more frequently than higher classes (class determined in this case by military rank), although there were no class differences detected in diagnoses, length, or outcome of therapy.[13] In sum, the evidence is inconclusive that the less-frequent provision of psychotherapy to lower-class clients is due to less demand.

Of course, the issue of the lower-class client not being selected for psychotherapy may not be the fault of the client, but may be either prejudice by the therapist or an awareness by clients that treatment modes in many clinics are middle-class.[14] This latter possibility will be discussed subsequently.

Third, in asking if working-class patients do less well when "given" psychotherapy, Bromley found in most studies that length of stay in therapy is the criterion for "doing well." Several studies indicate that early drop-out is more likely among the

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[13]Schmidt and Hancey, 771-72.

[14]Charles W. Cobb, "Community Mental Health Services and the Lower Socioeconomic Class: A Summary of Research Literature on Outpatient Treatment (1963-1969)," American Journal of Orthospsychiatry 42 (1972): 404-14.

working class.[15] Even during the time of Plato, such may have

been the case:

> When a carpenter is ill, he asks the physician for a rough
> and ready remedy -- an emetic or a purge, or a cautery, or
> the knife. And if anyone tells him he must go through a
> course of dietetics, and swathe and swaddle his head, and
> all that sort of thing, he replies at once that he has not
> time to be ill, and that he sees no good in a life that is
> spent in nursing his disease to the neglect of his ordinary
> calling; and therefore, saying good-bye to this sort of
> physician, he resumes his customary diet, and either gets
> well and lives and does his business, or, if his
> constitution fails, he dies and has done with it.[16]

Many, however, claim that there is no such relationship between

socioeconomic class and drop-out rate.[17] Again the results are

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[15]J. D. Frank et al., "Why Patients Leave Psychotherapy,"
Archives of General Neurology and Psychiatry 77, no. 3 (1957):
283-99. A. White, L. Fichtenbaum, and J. Dollard, "Evaluation of
Silence in Initial Interviews With Psychiatric Clinic Patients,"
Journal of Nervous and Mental Disorders 136 (1964): 550-57.
Raymond P. Lorion, "Socioeconomic Status and Traditional
Treatment Approaches Reconsidered," Psychological Bulletin 79,
no.4 (1973): 266. E. Jones, "Social Class and Psychotherapy,"
Psychiatry 37 (1974): 307-20. N. Terestman et al., "Blue-Collar
Patients in a Psychoanalytic Clinic," American Journal of
Psychiatry 131 (1974): 261-66. Grey. Lief et al. N. Cole et
al. J. Yanamoto and M. K. Goin, "On the Treatment of the Poor."
Wilkinson, 298, notes that the drop-out rate of blacks is higher
than that of whites in psychotherapy as well.

[16]From Plato's The Republic, quoted in Lawrence Zelig
Freedman, "Psychopathology and Poverty," Blue Collar World, eds.
Arthur Shostak and William Gomberg (Englewood-Cliffs: Prentice-
Hall, 1964), 363-71.

[17]M. Lorr et al., "The Prediction of Length of Stay in
Psychotherapy," Journal of Consulting Psychology 22 (1958): 321-
27. I. B. Pettit et al., "Relationship Between Values, Social
Class and Duration of Psychotherapy," Journal of Consulting and
Clinical Psychology 42, no.4 (1974): 482-90. L. Day and M.
Reznikoff, "Social Class, the Treatment Process, and Parents' and
Children's Expectations About Child Psychotherapy," Journal of
Clinical Child Psychology 9, no. 3 (1980): 195-98. L. R. Love et
al., "Differential Effectiveness of Three Clinical Interventions
for Different Socioeconomic Groupings," Journal of Consulting and
Clinical Psychology 39, no. 3 (1972): 347-60. Albronde et al.

equivocal. Perhaps most serious in these studies is the use of the criterion of therapy drop-out rate, which never examines whether lower-class persons might receive sufficient help in few sessions, cannot afford psychotherapy, or might determine quickly that their problem is systemic rather than personal and psychological.[18]

Fourth, Bromley asks if the social class of the therapist has any effect. Some studies indicate greater depth of counsel and lengthier treatment when there is no gap between social class of therapist and client, which usually means little discrepancy in education, verbal ability, values, psychological like-mindedness.[19] Other studies see a random or no difference.[20]

Wold and Steger.

[18]The kind of institutional policies which inhibit lower-class self-referrals to counseling include cost of treatment, long waiting lists, rigid schedules and intake procedures, inflexible office hours, hiring practices, geographic location, inappropriate modes of treatment, according to Elaine J. Copeland, "Oppressed Conditions and the Mental Health Needs of Low-Income Black Women: Barriers to Services, Strategies for Change," Women and Therapy 1 (1982): 17.

[19]D. M. McNair et al., "Therapist 'Type' and Patient Responses to Psychotherapy," Journal of Consulting Psychology 26 (1962): 425-29. R. R. Carkhuff and R. Pierce, "Differential Effects of Therapist Race and Social Class Upon Depth of Self-Exploration in the Initial Clinical Interview," Journal of Consulting Psychology 31, no. 6 (1965): 632-34. R. C. Carson, "A and B Therapist 'Types': A Possible Critical Variable in Psychotherapy," Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease 144 (1967): 47-54. P. Keith-Spiegal and D. Spiegal, "Perceived Helpfulness of Others as a Function of Compatible Intelligence Levels," Journal of Counseling Psychology 14 (1967): 61-62. J. Daniel, "Factors in Effective Communication Between Professionals, Non-Professionals, and Poor People," Dissertation Abstracts 29, no. 11-A (1969): 4126. I. Siassi et al., "Psychotherapy With Patients from Lower Socioeconomic Groups," American Journal of Psychotherapy 30, no. 1 (1976): 29-40. Thain. Harrison et al.

Marx and Spray believe that socioeconomic similarity is most related to the verbal-cognitive-intellectual dimension of the therapeutic relationship, while sameness of therapist and client religion/culture of origin is positively related to the emotional-affective dimension of the therapeutic relationship.[21]

One study found that the higher the socioeconomic status of the therapist the higher the socioeconomic status of the clients seen by him/her.[22] Two studies found a consistant and significant bias against lower-class patients, but this was true regardless of the class background of the therapist.[23] Again, the answer to the question is equivocal.

Fifth, Bromley asked why there are social class differences in psychotherapy variables. The suggestion that the cultural gap between therapist and client accounts for differential treatment in psychotherapy is only one possible explanation. Bernstein suggests that differences are due to language attributes of the working class, which he calls a "restricted linguistic code."[24]

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[20]P. Butler, "Continuance in Psychotherapy -- Working Class Clients," Dissertation Abstracts International 39, no. 2-8 (1978): 972.

[21]Marx and Spray.

[22]N. Cole.

[23]W. Haase, "The Role of Socio-Economic Class in Examiner Bias," Mental Health of the Poor, eds. Frank Riessman et al. (New York: Free Press, 1964). Miriam F. Hirsch, Women and Violence (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1981), 212.

[24]B. Bernstein, "Social Class, Speech Systems and Psychotherapy," British Journal of Sociology 15, no. 1 (1964): 54-64, claims that this language signals social rather than personal identity, is generated by relationships in which the

He does not state that therapy with the working class cannot occur beneficially, but that unless the restricted linguistic code is taken into consideration, a counseling relationship will not likely occur or endure. Hallum similarly claims linguistic differences in the working class and concludes that analytic psychotherapy is therefore of no use to the working class and that behavior therapy or Minuchin's structural family therapy ought to be used.[25] The question of whether the working-class linguistic code is indeed restricted or is contextually functional is never addressed.

In addition to the cultural gap hypothesis and the linguistic code hypothesis, there are hypothesized other psychological mediators such as level of verbal intelligence, authoritarianism, psychological differentiation, and locus of control. Butler, however, argues that personality intervening variables are unimportant, that early termination in her sample

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intent is clear and taken for granted, is simple in structure and content (and therefore predictable), uses little elaboration, is relatively impersonal, is a vehicle for expressing group similarity rather than personal uniqueness, signals personal identity through non-verbal channels, emphasizes the concrete here-and-now rather than reflective and abstract relationships, has no interest in motivational processes, rarely treats the self as the subject of verbal investigation, is not a means to voyage from one person to another, understands verbal control over behavior to be mediated by authority rather than logic.

[25]K. C. Hallum, "Social Class and Psychotherapy -- Sociolinguistic Approach," Clinical Social Work Journal 6, no. 3 (1978): 188-201, suggests that in the working class the purpose of communication is control rather than the exchange of information, that speech does not communicate subjective experience, and that speech is not analytical in confrontation of self or world.

had to do with client/therapist disagreement about the problem area, inaccurate expectancy with respect to the therapy process, and shorter symptom duration.[26]

Finally, Bromley asks if lower-class patients can be adequately prepared for psychotherapy. It is fairly well established that those who expect to play a contributing part in the course of counseling are more likely to continue than those who put the responsibility solely with the therapist.[27] Several studies indicate that the difficulties of lower-class persons in psychotherapy can be overcome with preparation. Hoehn-Saric and colleagues found a role-induction interview[28] and Heitler found an anticipatory socialization interview for group therapy to be significantly helpful.[29] Strupp and Bloxom used a role-induction film which was found to be effective.[30] Lorion notes that merely using early sessions to help formulate the problem and

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[26]P. Butler.

[27]R. Heine and H. Trosman, "Initial Expectations of the Doctor-Patient Interaction as a Factor in Continuance in Psychotherapy," Psychiatry 23 (1960): 275-78.

[28]R. Hoehn-Saric et al, "Systematic Preparation of Patients for Psychotherapy: Effects on Therapy Behavior and Outcome," Journal of Psychiatric Research 2 (1964): 267-81.

[29]J. B. Heitler, "Clinical Impressions of an Experimental Attempt to Prepare Lower-Class Patients for Expressive Group Psychotherapy," International Journal of Group Psychotherapy 24, no. 3 (1974): 308-22.

[30]H. H. Strupp and A. L. Bloxom, "Preparing Lower-Class Patients for Group Psychotherapy Development and Evaluation of a Role-Induction Film," Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology 41, no. 3 (1973): 373-84.

treatment goals, to explain the nature of counseling and each

person's role improves treatment duration and outcome.[31]

Bromley completes his review of the literature with several

conclusions which are worth repeating here:

> 1. Practically all empirical research on the topic of
> socioeconomic class and psychotherapy has been done in the
> U.S.
>
> 2. There has been little analysis of the concept of class
> and how it might theoretically articulate with
> psychotherapy.
>
> 3. There has been little theoretical discussion of the
> nature of psychotherapy, although it seems to mean mainly
> intellectual and verbal interaction.
>
> 4. There has been little distinction between individual and
> group therapy, and when groups are the focus, there is
> little reference to relative class heterogeneity or
> homogeneity of a group.
>
> 5. There has been little emphasis on the sex of the client:
> some studies are of men only, some are of both men and
> women. In no study is sex a noteworthy variable.
>
> 6. There is overwhelming evidence that the working class is
> offered psychotherapy less often.
>
> 7. There is little evidence that this is because the working
> class does not want it, and there is equivocal evidence that
> they do not benefit from it.
>
> 8. The evidence about the reasons for problems of the
> working class with therapy and the fact of needed
> preparation are problematic.[32]

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[31]Raymond P. Lorion, "Patient and Therapist Variables in the Treatment of Low-Income Patients," Psychological Bulletin 81, no. 6 (1974): 348.

[32]Bromley, 216-17.

Critique of the Literature

> I recalled the puzzlement of some of my colleagues abroad
> about how American psychologists define and deal with human
> problems: the amount of time we spend testing and treating
> the child; the parent; or the patient; rather than the
> situation in which he or she lives. Our tendency to seek
> and advocate the solution of personal problems through
> direct intervention of the professional; our preoccupation,
> in psychological practice and research, with sex,
> aggression, and achievement, as against cooperation and
> concern for others; our anxiety about dependency and
> conformity; our emphasis on freedom from the bond of social
> roles, both within and outside the family; our search for
> existential experience; and perhaps, the most revealing, our
> definition of the highest goal of psychological development
> in terms of "self-actualization."
>
> <div align="right">--Urie Bronfenbrenner[33]</div>

Bromley perceptively points out that the literature review

shows, first of all, an overwhelming lack of understanding of the

socio-genesis of many psychological problems (especially of the

lower classes), and a preoccupation with placing responsibility

for psychological disorder on the individual client. The absence

of clearly stated social theory usually means a functional social

theory is operational at the base of mental health literature,

assuming a shared set of values by all and problematic means or

goals within the system rather than a problematic system

itself.[34] Yet, the sociogenic nature of much mental illness is

clear when admissions to mental hospitals go up proportionately

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[33]Urie Bronfenbrenner in a letter to American Psychological
Association Monitor 6, no. 2 (Sept.-Oct., 1975).

[34]Such is the position of Kingsley Davis, "Mental Hygiene
and the Class Structure," Psychiatry 1 (1938): 55-56.

as the economy declines regardless of other social variables
present or of innovations in psychiatric care.[35]

It had been established by Hollingshead and Redlich that a
correlation existed between expectancy of psychiatric disorder
and socioeconomic class, type of psychiatric disorder and class,
type of psychiatric treatment and class.[36]   European
epidemiological studies[37] have tended to explain this by saying
that constitutional and genetic factors cause disorder, and by a
process of natural selection these persons move to the lower
classes.   Occupation and income tend to be significant variables
in this explanation.[38]   However, the usual argument in the United

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[35]M. Harvey Brenner, Mental Illness and the Economy
(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973).

[36]See August B. Hollingshead and Frederick C. Redlich,
"Social Stratification and Psychiatric Disorders," Personality
and Social Systems, eds. Neil J. Smelser and William T. Smelser
(New York: Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1963), 315. A follow-up study on
Hollingshead and Redlich is Jerome Myers and Lee Bean, A Decade
Later: A Follow-Up of Social Class and Mental Illness (New York:
Wiley & Sons, 1968), 92-103, 191-93. There are more
psychological disorders reported for black Americans in
particular and ethnic minorities in general than for whites, but
when socioeconomic class is taken into account the differences
become minimal, according to M. J. Smith, "Ethnic Minorities:
Life Stress, Social Support, and Mental Health Issues,"
Counseling Psychologist 13 (1985): 548.

[37]This distinction between European and American research is
noted in Bruce P. Dohrenwend, "Sociocultural and Social-
Psychological Factors in the Genesis of Mental Disorders,"
Journal of Health and Social Behavior 16 (1975): 370.

[38]The important variables in each argument are noted in a
review of eight epidemiological surveys used to estimate the
relative importance of income, education, and occupational status
in predicting distress in the normal population by Ronald C.
Kessler, "A Disaggregation of the Relationship Between Socio-
Economic Status and Psychological Distress," American
Sociological Review 47 (1982): 761.

States has been one of social causation, that distress is caused by exposure to stress and the lower classes have greater exposure. This argument generally emphasizes the importance of the income variable. Some American studies indicate that _traumatic_ exposure to stress is the most significant,[39] and others claim that stress of an _enduring_ nature is the key factor.[40] But efforts to prove whether the natural selection or the social causation explanation is true are inconclusive.

In analyzing variables correlating with psychological distress, Kessler found that while _income_ and _occupational status_ are the strongest predictors among employed and unemployed men respectively, _education_ is the strongest predictor of psychological distress among all women, whether employed or at home, married or non-married.[41] Neither the European argument of natural selection nor the American argument of social causation

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[39]Barbara Dohrenwend, "Social Class and Stressful Events," _Psychiatric Epidemiology_, eds. E. H. Hare and J. K. Wing (New York: Oxford, 1970), 313-19. Also Jerome K. Myers, Jacob J. Lindenthal, Max Pepper, and David Ostrander, "Life Events and Mental Status: A Longitudinal Study," _Journal of Health and Social Behavior_ 13 (1972): 398-406. Jerome K. Myers, Jacob Lindenthal, and Max Pepper, "Social Class, Life Events and Psychiatric Symptoms: A Longitudinal Study," _Stressful Life Events: Their Nature and Effects_, eds. Barbara Dohrenwend and Bruce P. Dohrenwend (New York: Wiley, 1974), 200.

[40]Leonard Pearlin and Joyce Johnson, "Marital Status, Life-Strains, and Depression," _American Sociological Review_ 42 (1977): 704-15. Also Leonard Pearlin and Morton Lieberman, "Social Sources of Emotional Distress," _Research in Community and Mental Health_, ed. R. Simmons (Greenwich: JAI, 1978), 217-48.

[41]This is confirmed by Catherine E. Ross and Joan Huber, "Hardship and Depression," _Journal of Health and Social Behavior_ 26 (1985): 323.

of psychological distress, however, reveal the importance of the variable of education.

Therefore, a third explanation for the disproportionate prevalence of psychiatric disorder among the lower classes, especially lower-class women, is "responsiveness to stress" referring to resources available for responding to stress, which can be significantly affected by education. Individualistic explanations of this responsiveness are noted by Melvin Kohn[42] and by Kessler and Brown et al.[43] But more important than these intra-psychic resources are social resources such as financial power, political power, guidance about options available, and emotional support, the lack of which increases the likelihood that there will be progressively greater distress among those lower on the socioeconomic scale.[44] Race, gender, sex, class discrimination and hostility are environmental stressors which

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[42]Kohn, "Job Complexity and Adult Personality," suggests that job conditions and education help socialize persons in problem management and that lower-class persons are socialized into narrow and rigid conceptions of reality which inhibit the ability to cope with problematic situations.

[43]R. C. Kessler, "Stress, Social Status and Psychological Distress," Journal of Health and Social Behavior 20 (1979): 100-08. George Brown, Tirrill Harris, and R. Copeland, "Depression and Loss," British Journal of Psychiatry 130 (1977): 1-18, claim there is higher responsiveness to stress among those who are anxiety proned, have higher levels of learned helplessness, have a low threshold for uncertainty, lower self-esteem, lower perceived personal control, and fewer coping skills.

[44]Richard C. Kessler and Paul D. Cleary, "Social Class and Psychological Distress," American Sociological Review 45 (1980): 463-78. Social support systems can provide at least three stress-mediating functions: organization of skills and resources for coping, sharing of burdens, emotional and instrumental (financial) support, according to M. J. Smith, 553.

the individual, family, and neighborhood must handle and which the surrounding culture makes either more or less difficult to deal with in terms of the resources it provides.[45]

The variable of emotional support and resources explains why the more dense the clustering of race or class groups the greater the reported levels of mental and emotional health. It explains why whites living in predominantly black areas had a rate of psychosis 313 percent higher than whites in predominantly white areas and why blacks in white areas had a rate of psychosis 32 percent higher than blacks in black areas.[46] It also explains why a number of working-class women interviewed for the Kansas City study reported having grown up poor, but didn't really feel poor since everyone else was also poor, especially during the Great Depression.

It should be noted that while the literature in adult development shows the importance of adversity for developing competence,[47] the added variables important for responsiveness to stress must also be taken into account. Adversity in and of itself is not a promoter of development, though responsiveness to adversity or stress is. This confirms Adler's position that it is not what happens to you that is important, but it is how you

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[45]For an analysis of the stressor of race in mental health see M. J. Smith.

[46]Reported in M. J. Smith, 541.

[47]Glen Elder, Children of the Great Depression: Social Change in Life Experience (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974). Robert Coles and Jane H. Coles, Women of Crisis: Lives of Struggle and Hope (New York: Delacorte, 1978).

interpret it and what you do with it that is important. As Glen Elder discovered in his study of women of the Great Depression, health is a product of the interaction of stressors and resources.[48]

In a now-classic study often cited in research of middle-class women, Gove and Tudor posited that women's social roles, especially since World War II, have contributed to relatively higher instances of mental illness among women.[49] Dohrenwend introduced the variable of class in his studies, however, and discovered that there are no sex differences for functional (non-organic) disorders in general, although women showed greater prevalence of manic-depression and neuroses, and men showed greater prevalence of personality disorder.[50] In addition the higher classes showed greater prevalence of manic depression and neuroses, while the lowest classes showed greater prevalence of

[48]Glen H. Elder and Jeffrey K. Liker, "Hard Times in Women's Lives: Historical Influences Across Forty Years," American Journal of Sociology 88 (1982): 242.

[49]Gove and Tudor, 816. Married women have higher rates of mental illness than married men, and higher rates than single, divorced, or widowed men or women according to Walter R. Gove, "The Relationship Between Sex Roles, Marital Status, and Mental Illness," Social Forces 51 (1972): 34. See also Karen Pugliesi, "Women and Mental Health: A Review and Suggestions for Further Research," National Women's Studies Association, Champagne-Urbana, Ill., June 1986.

[50]Confirming this lack of sex difference in the occurrence of mental illness are Hollingshead and Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness, as well as Bruce P. Dohrenwend and Barbara S. Dohrenwend, "Sex Differences and Psychiatric Disorders," American Journal of Sociology 81, no. 6 (1976): 1447-54. See also L. Srole et al., Mental Health in the Metropolis (New York: McGraw Hill, 1962), and Siassi, "Psychotherapy with Women and Men of Lower Classes."

schizophrenia and personality disorder.[51] Women and higher

classes, who are inclined to similar disorders, also show greater

participation in psychotherapy. Indeed it is middle and upper-

middle-class women who seek psychotherapy more than any other

group.[52]

In a study of London women, Brown and colleagues found that

depressive conditions do have a sociological etiology and that

the same social factors that increase the risk of disorder also

decrease the chances of receiving services.[53] Depression was

most severe among women who suffered a severe event (threatened

or major loss) and major difficulties as a result (difficulties

with housing, money, children, health, in-laws). The two most

important variables were life-stage and socioeconomic status,

with the result that working-class women who had children under

the age of six and working-class women collectively in all age

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[51]Bruce P. Dohrenwend, 369. Also Dohrenwend and Dohrenwend. Twenty years earlier the same conclusions were drawn by Haase, "Rorschach Diagnosis, Socio-Economic Class, and Examiner Bias."

[52]Phyllis Chesler, "Patient and Patriarch: Women in the Psychotherapeutic Relationship," Women in a Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness, eds. Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran (New York: New American Library/ Basic, 1971), 363. Chesler poignantly notes that while happiness is on sale in America, not everyone can afford it, hence the middle-class character of psychotherapy (p.384). It is also known from H.E.W. statistics that greater distress and symptoms are reported by women, and that the sex difference is most marked at younger age levels (p.364).

[53]George W. Brown, Maire Ni Bhrolchain, and Tirril Harris, "Social Class and Psychiatric Disturbance Among Women in An Urban Population," Sociology 9, no. 2 (1975): 225-54. Socioeconomic status was determined here by occupation of husband, or father, or self with education being a further factor allowing differentiation.

groups had degrees of depression following severe events that were statistically significant compared to the control group.[54] Intervening variables which intensified this correlation were absence of an intimate confidante, loss of mother by death or separation before age eleven, having three or more children at home aged fourteen or less, and lack of employment. Especially when a confidante is missing, work can provide a sense of achievement and self-esteem, and can help overcome a sense of failure.[55]

In fact the impact of economic deprivation itself varies with the attribution of causes of the deprivation, as well as varying with the degree or severity of loss, nature and degree of adaptive resources, and possible action responses.[56] Self-esteem and coping strength are greater for those who realistically see the fault of the system.

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[54]Also recognizing that child-rearing is a special burden and that married women are more likely than single women to seek psychiatric help is Anne M. Seiden, "Overview: Research on the Psychology of Women. II. Women in Families, Work, and Psychotherapy," American Journal of Psychiatry 133 (1976): 1111-23.

[55]Partially confirming tne important variables here is a profile of the woman most likely to succeed in committing suicide (which is usually preceded by depressive conditions) noted by Karin Wandrei in n.t., Marriage and Divorce Today, (June 16, 1986): 2, ". . . she is likely to be older, white, living alone, divorced, of no current religious affiliation, employed in clerical or sales work, an only child." Impairment to sense of mastery and self-esteem caused by the loss of one's mother before the age of 11 is also noted by Elder and Liker, 244.

[56]Elder and Liker, 246. See also R. Hill, Families Under Stress (New York: Harper & Row, 1949).

A second critique of the literature with an eye to engaging in pastoral counseling with working-class women is not only the socio-genic nature of much psychological distress, but also the middle-class character of psychoanalytic, insight-oriented psychotherapy itself, which much of the literature on psychotherapy seems to presume. James McMahon offers a cogent reminder that there is a prevailing stereotype of psychotherapeutic progress in our culture which is

> psychological thinking rather than magical expectations; internalization of problems and the tendency to self-blame rather than acting out and projection; a wish actively to change one's environment instead of a passive fatalistic stance toward reality; self-control; a need to relate to people; a desire to talk with others about personal problems, etc. And the litany continues with "high motivation," "strong ego strength," and so on. In looking over these desired and prized personal characteristics in prospective patients, one becomes acutely aware that they are personality correlates of the middle class.[57]

Middle-class assumptions can also be detected in reviewing the reasons that many researchers say lower-class persons do not benefit from psychotherapy. Much of the literature condemns lower-class persons as hostile; suspicious; non-introspective; verbally inarticulate; showing sexual and aggressive behaviors; externalizing blame; not delaying gratification; mistrusting intellectuals; lacking in individuation; having difficulty free-associating and imagining; not sharing the middle-class view that action follows reflection or that discussion solves problems;

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[57]James T. McMahon, "The Working Class Psychiatric Patient: A Clinical View," <u>Mental Health of the Poor</u>, eds. Frank Riessman, Jerome Cohen, and Arthur Pearl (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964).

only wanting medication, practical assistance and advice; having

problems with time schedules and the formality of psychotherapy

(located in offices, structured one-hour interviews); and wanting

concrete help and support rather than looking at feelings and

being willing to verbalize troubles.[58]

Thus, a counselor's expectations will often affect the type

and length of counseling more than the social class of the client

per se. Counselors rated as "warm" and empathic retained clients

of all classes longer than coldly passive ones. Yet poor and

working-class persons also look for a counselor who is

knowledgable and can provide an objective view of reality and the

client's situation, who can provide information, solutions,

skills, or an outlook that has adaptive value. Many of the poor

and working class have no trouble being reflective and self-

disclosing with a counselor of their own social class and race.

Hence, trustworthiness (ability to be appropriately self-

disclosing), expertness, and similarity (in race, class, sex,

religion, belief, or style) are key to counselor effectiveness

with the working class.[59] Interestingly, while working-class

women generally rely on relatives more than friends or formal

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[58]Siassi, "Psychotherapy With Women and Men of Lower
Classes," 391. O. E. Baum and S. B. Felzer, "Activity in Initial
Interview With Lower-Class Patients," Archives of General
Psychiatry 10 (1964): 348. Don Browning, "Pastoral Care and the
Poor," Community Mental Health: The Role of Church and Temple,
ed. Howard J. Clinebell (Nashville: Abingdon, 1970), 112.
Copeland, "Oppressed Conditions and the Mental Health Needs of
Low-Income Black Women," 19.

[59]Sue, Counseling the Culturally Different, 54.

agency helpers when needing help, they rely on _clergy_ more than working-class men and more than both middle-class men and women.[60]

One way to understand middle-class psychotherapy is that it is simply different than what is needed or wanted by the working class. Miriam Greenspan believes that middle-class and upper-class neurotics can (conveniently) benefit from psychoanalysis three to five times per week.[61] From the perspective of the working class, Meridel LeSueur could have been talking about insight-oriented therapy when she said,

> If you come from the middle class, words are likely to mean more than an event. You are likely to think about a thing, and the happening will be the size of a pin point and the words around the happening very large, distorting it queerly.[62]

But equal treatment in cases of cross-class counseling may, in fact, be discriminatory.[63] In a class system as powerful as America's such a form of therapy can also be seen as a way to

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[60]Rachel Barcus Warren, "The Work Role and Problem of Coping: Sex Differentials in the Use of Helping Systems in Urban Communities," American Sociological Association, San Francisco, 1975.

[61]Greenspan, 83.

[62]Meridel LeSueur, _Ripening: Selected Work, 1927-80_, ed. Elaine Hodges (New York: The Feminist Press, 1982), 158.

[63]The discrimination possible in _cross-cultural_ counseling is noted by Derald W. Sue, "Evaluating Process Variable in Cross-Cultural Counseling and Psychotherapy," _Cross-Cultural Counseling and Psychotherapy_, eds. Anthony J. Marsella and Paul B. Pedersen, 114.

maintain social control.[64] To individualize problems that are really systemic and social is to strip the working class of their power, which is a collective power. Simply to offer insight or emotional catharsis as the path to change when the most needed changes are those of personal, social, and economic power is to mystify further the nature of the problem and its solution. Counseling is a profoundly political act, no less so when it is pastoral.

Within the last decade some important research has been done in the field of cross-cultural counseling that helps to clarify the character of middle-class counseling and the needs of the working class which are not met by such an approach. Derald Sue notes that middle-class counseling is monolingual, one-to-one, intimate (in terms of what the client reveals) though professional (distant in terms of what the counselor reveals), values openness, verbal expressiveness, and psychological mindedness, understands the client as the initiator with the counselor responding, emphasizes cause-effect relationships and long-range goals, and distinguishes between physical and mental well-being.[65] In contrast he claims that counseling with lower-

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[64]Leonard J. Simon, "The Political Unconscious of Psychology: Clinical Psychology and Social Change," Professional Psychology 1, no.4 (1970): 331-41. Also believing that the mental health services which are presumably to serve the public good in reality serve the dominant classes (the adult white-Anglo, affluent, Protestant male) are Mark Chesler and Orian Worden "Persistant Problems in Power and Social Change," Journal of Applied Behavioral Science 10 (1974). See also Bromley, 217.

[65]Sue, Counseling the Culturally Different, 31.

class persons often relies on non-standard English, perhaps even a second language and many non-verbal cues, does not always understand time as linear or future oriented, is action-oriented, values immediate short-range goals, lasts a briefer time, takes a concrete, tangible, structured approach, and does not expect an intensive relationship with the counselor.[66] Working-class clients either want to consult with an expert for some information or advice or they seek the kind of mutual relationship they have with kin. The latter demands that they ask more questions of the counselor than do middle-class clients in order to establish trust and credibility.[67] But the working class does not seek intimacy with a professional, an odd trait of middle-class counseling as far as the working class is concerned. In some ways the working class asks more rather than less of a counselor than the middle class, and often middle-class counselors are not able to give it.

In addition to these class-based value differences in counseling, Sue also points out that counseling can be affected by language variables and culture-bound variables of various ethnic groups. Among Chicanos and Native Americans, for example,

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[66]The important of non-verbal and unconscious elements of communication among different ethnic groups is noted in Edward Hall, The Silent Language (New York: Fawcett, 1969).

[67]Confirmation of the importance of these dynamics in a union-supported out-patient clinic that offered immediate assistance in a non-professional, informal office setting using an educational and guidance approach with the working class is R. E. Gould, "Dr. Strangeclass: Or How I Stopped Worrying About Theory and Began Treating the Blue-Collar Worker," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 37 (1967): 78-86.

intimate details of one's life are only shared with close friends

and family, and instant intimacy with a therapist is highly

suspect.[68] Some class and ethnic groups are taught not to speak

until they are spoken to. They then find it difficult to

understand "client-centered" counseling. The meaning of non-

verbal communication, eye contact, forms of greeting, silence,

and the use of direct speech are also areas of cultural

difference which affect the counseling process.[69] Some of the

strongest ethnic group differences are in the area of expression

of feelings (either directly or through complaining and

suffering), which is allowed by Italians and Jews, but is

discouraged by Asians, Irish, and WASPs.[70] On the whole,

however, several studies have indicated that ethnic differences

are reduced when the variable of socioeconomic class is

considered and controlled.[71]

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[68]Confirmation of Sue's findings in the Hispanic community
can be found in Guadalupe Gibson, "Hispanic Women: Stress and
Mental Health Issues," Women Changing Therapy, eds. Joan Robbins
and Rachel Siegel (New York: Haworth, 1983), 123.

[69]Sue, Counseling the Culturally Different, 38-43. Also
Derald W. Sue and David Sue, "Barriers to Effective Cross-
Cultural Counseling," Journal of Counseling Psychology 24, no. 5
(Sept., 1977): 420-29.

[70]Monica McGoldrick, "Researching Ethnic Family
Stereotypes," Family Process 26, no. 1 (1987): 98.

[71]S. W. Heuggeler and J. B. Tarormina, "Social Class and
Race Differences in Family Interaction: Pathological, Normative
or Confounding Methodological Factor?" Journal of Genetic
Psychology 137 (1980): 211-22. Interestingly, while focusing on
politics rather than counseling, Stephen Steinberg also concludes
that the effect of ethnicity is diminished when socioeconomic
class is controlled, in The Ethnic Myth.

Sue suggests that there may be a pattern of identity development among racial and cultural groups, which could also be true of members of a lower social class who are upwardly mobile. He believes that identity can move through a series of five stages: (1) self-depreciating and group depreciating conformity, (2) dissonance between self-depreciating and self-appreciating, and between group-depreciating and group-appreciating, (3) resistance to dominant culture and immersion in one's subculture, displaying self-appreciation and group-appreciation, (4) introspection to discover the basis of self-appreciation and the nature and extent of group appreciation, (5) synergetic articulation and awareness that is self-appreciating and group appreciating.[72]

Working-class women could be greatly gifted by a counselor who would affirm her class origins and all that it gave her while encouraging her struggle with the group- and self-affirmation necessary for overcoming the source of her oppression. To exist as a working-class person in Western culture demands a type of bi-culturalism if one is to avoid isolation in the working-class world (a near impossibility in an age of global communications) or denying the working-class life by full, unreflected immersion in middle-class life. Sue's outline of a possible way to view this as a developmental process might be helpful, if it is seen

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[72]Donald R. Atkinson, George Morten, and Derald W. Sue, Counseling American Minorities: A Cross-Cultural Perspective (Dubuque, Iowa: W. C. Brown, 1979), 198.

as suggestive rather than determinative, a way to de-mystify
oppression rather than simply join the middle class.

Resources of Feminist Counseling and Working-Class Women

There are some who believe that feminist counseling does not
exist because all counseling implies a hierarchical
relationship.[73] Deciding the truth of this belief will be
foundational for some later recommendations about pastoral
counseling with the working-class woman.

Feminist counseling finds its theoretical underpinnings in
the white middle class as does traditional psychoanalytic theory
and therapy. Patricia Denny insightfully compares feminist
therapy with the kind of counseling needed by poor and working-
class women.[74] Feminist therapy understands sexism as the
fundamental oppression from which all others derive. Men are the
enemy. The ideal world is characterized by equal access to male

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[73]Dorothy Tennov, "Feminism, psychotherapy, and
professionalism," Journal of Contemporary Psychotherapy 5 (1973):
106-16. Phyllis Chesler, 375, also notes that the values and
techniques of psychotherapy are covertly and overtly patriarchal,
autocratic, and coercive, as confirmed by the following: Erving
Goffman, Asylums (New York: Doubleday/Anchor, 1961); Thomas
Szasz, The Myth of Mental Illness (New York: Harper & Row, 1961);
William Schofield, Psychotherapy: The Purchase of Friendship
(Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1963); Michael Foucault,
Madness and Civilization (New York: Mentor, 1967). Freud himself
believed that the psychoanalyst-patient relationship must be that
of "a superior and a subordinate," in Sigmund Freud, "On the
History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement," Collected Papers of
Sigmund Freud, Vol. 1 (New York: Basic, 1959).

[74]Patricia Denny, "Women and Poverty: A Challenge to the
Intellectual and Therapeutic Integrity of Feminist Therapy,"
Women and Therapy 5, no. 4 (1986): 51-63.

systems of achievement and reward, by the principle of autonomy which encourages one to act in one's own best interests over against the interests of others, by assuming men's and children's interests differ, and by shared child-rearing even though parenting is a low-status job.[75] Reality is seen as an arena of possibility within which one can "shoot the moon." And feminist theory sees pre-therapy women as socialized to be powerless, passive, dependent, and fearful of success, as well as lacking in personal strength, identity, support systems, and commitment to other women.[76]

The situation for the poor and working class is different, however. The nature of oppression in their reality includes the interrelationship of sexism and classism, and often racism. The oppression of poverty must be included in any definition of oppression. Lower-class women value prestige more than privilege in a way that middle-class women do not, and they often highly value traditional sex-roles. Men are not always the enemy (an interesting case of biological determinism) but are the ones with whom poor and working-class women share economic and racial

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[75]See Greenspan, and also Susan Sturdivant, Therapy With Women: A Feminist Philosophy of Treatment (New York: Springer, 1980).

[76]Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich. Counseling literature which suggests that effective power among women displays the prerequisites of self-confidence, expertise, social status and access to resources is to individualize power too much, according to Meg A. Bond and James G. Kelly, "Social Support and Efficacy in Advocacy Roles," Social and Psychological Problems of Women: Prevention and Crisis Intervention, eds. Annette Rickel, Meg Gerrard, Ira Iscoe (Washington: Hemisphere, 1984), 175.

oppression. The nature of the ideal world to the poor and working-class woman has to do with justice. Existing systems of reward are distasteful to many of these women and autonomy is not viable when the struggle to survive must be shared. Distance from one's children is not desirable because they offer pride and prestige, they are often an economic necessity among the rural working class and as they reach employable age in the cities, they share with her an extended family, and they are the ones she wants to teach about justice. The nature of reality is that most decisions must be made in light of what is good for the whole group of which a woman is a part. The pre-therapy working-class woman is often socialized to be assertive and powerful, is less afraid of success (except that the system so limits how much of it she can experience), does not limit her aspirations,[77] and manages multiple roles.[78]

There is much that the women's movement and feminist therapy have taught us that is helpful in relationship with working-class women. Miriam Greenspan, who is one of the rare feminists who has named working-class women as a distinct group of women requesting and needing counsel, offers three provocative

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[77]Guadalupe Gibson suggests that Hispanic women may limit their aspirations only because of a realistic appraisal of racism. Women who have learned helplessness probably do not aspire, those who have some sense of internal control over reinforcements and success probably do.

[78]Elaine B. Pinderhughes, "Minority Women: A Nodal Position in the Functioning of the Social System," Women and Family Therapy, ed. Marianne Ault-Riche (Rockville, Md.: Aspen Systems, 1986), 56.

insights.[79] First is the importance of understanding Woman as
Body. In a system of male rule, woman's body is power (for
reproduction and for the sexual gratification of men) but also a
source of powerlessness (men are rarely raped). In order to
survive women learn to repress their anger at their one-down
position in relation to men (as do workers toward their bosses
and blacks toward whites), which leaves its mark on her body.
Women in both the working class and the middle class know what
depression is. The bodies of women are overly visible (as the
bodies of the working class are over-used), but they are not seen
and they are not recognized as persons. Once women's bodies can
experience joy, they have begun to move out of oppression, they
have begun not to settle for what is safe and conventional, but
for what is life-giving. It is also true that working-class
women's bodies are used in the marketplace in tedious and tiring
ways that the bodies of middle-class women are not, and working-
class women are often much further from knowing the meaning of
joy.

Greenspan's second insight is the importance of Victim
Psychology for working-class women. Women often develop a form
of indirect communication, hidden protest, and passive-
aggressiveness in response to their one-down status. Thomas
Szasz believes this indirect communication indicates a "slave
psychology," and that social oppression of all kinds is behind

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[79]Greenspan, 161-219.

all such communication.[80] Linked to this slave psychology is a
fear of acknowledging satisfaction, since the "properly exploited
slave is forced to labor until he shows signs of fatigue or
exhaustion. Completion of his task does not signify that his
work is finished and that he may rest."[81] The alternative is to
manage anger openly and without blame, to release the fear of
being abandoned in order to claim one's power, and to give up
compulsive perfectionism as an attempt to pacify uncontrollable
forces. The issue of victim psychology is an important one for
working-class women, as attested by Michael Lerner, though
Greenspan underestimates how threatening to survival it could be
for working-class women to follow this prescription individually.
Nor is perfectionism characteristic of all working-class women,
but more especially of the upwardly mobile.

Third, Greenspan notes the importance of the Labor of
Relatedness for women. Capitalism in combination with patriarchy
make it difficult to "make it without a man," as is made clear
with the progressive global feminization of poverty. Yet women
across class lines are more responsible for relationships (at
least private, domestic ones) than are men. Greenspan suggests
that women are more relational and have weaker ego boundaries not
because of the Object Relations explanation of permeable female
ego boundaries, but because of patriarchal capitalism which
understands individual needs and interests against and in

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[80]Szasz, 213.

[81]Phyllis Chesler, 372, referring to Szasz.

competition with others. The ruling elite have used patriarchy to convince working-class men that they too can get ahead if they are ambitious. The "against-ness" of patriarchal capitalism which is also racist, may help explain why many poor, working-class, and ethnic women do not display the same weak ego boundaries as middle-class women, while still being in charge of the domestic relational world. Theirs is a world of <u>having</u> to fight to survive, which does much to strengthen ego boundaries.

Feminist therapy is characterized by an egalitarian relationship between therapist and client where one is encouraged to "shop around" for a therapist, where the therapist is not seen as an "expert," and where values and beliefs of the therapist can be shared. Additionally, it is characterized by verbalized contracts and goals, by a growth and development model, by a belief that all client verbalization is valid, as is all of women's experience, by promotion of a change in sex roles and support by other women, by women claiming personal power through validation of anger and self-nurturance, by understanding women's "problem" as systemic, by willingness to use other professional and para-professionals, and by pursuit of social action and change, rather than adjustment to the status quo.[82]

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[82]This summary is gleaned from three sources: Mary Ballou and Nancy Gabalac, <u>A Feminist Position on Mental Health</u> (Springfield: C. C. Thomas, 1985), 30-32; Lucia Albino Gilbert, "Feminist Therapy," <u>Women and Psychotherapy</u>, eds. Annette M. Brodsky and Rachel T. Hare-Mustin (New York: Guilford, 1980), 248; Jackie Yeomans, "Getting There and Hanging In: The Story of WCREC, A Woman's Service Collective," <u>Women and Therapy</u> 6, no. 1-2 (1987): 293-303.

Some of these issues are important to working-class women, and some are not. While the political certainly influences the personal in the lives of working-class women, there exists among many oppressed peoples a proscription against sharing one's story in the presence of the oppressor. Experience has taught them that it will most assuredly be used against them and will get them into trouble. The class and race bias of consciousness-raising as a therapeutic technique and political process is noted by Bev Fisher:

> White middle-class women are comfortable with a form which relies mainly on verbal skills. Women of other races and classes are not as comfortable in situations which stress group process. I'm not saying that Third World women and working- and lower-class women can't express themselves verbally. I'm saying that the formality of using consciousness raising as a technique for communication is stifling and intimidating to women who are accustomed to expressing themselves in many less defined and directed forms. In addition, many black women see it as typical for white people to make a big deal out of something they do (talking) and call it by some fancy name (consciousness raising).[83]

Thus, many working-class women would not seek counsel unless there was some felt need for an expert. Otherwise, she would go to her friends, her sisters, her mother. Perhaps working-class women need to know that a goal of counseling is for them to become experts as well -- experts at living life -- as much as any pastor or counselor is such an expert.

Additionally, some working-class women adhere to traditional sex roles because the "privilege" that inheres in being a woman

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[83]Bev Fisher, 12.

who cares for a husband, children, and household is one arena over which she has power and control. Mary McKenney notes that freedom from sex-roles is a purely middle-class idea.[84] A possible way to deal with this is to re-frame androgyny as an asset of "flexible diversity" just as bi-culturalism has demanded of her.[85] Other working-class women, of course, understand their status to be equal with that of men with no rigid sex roles.[86]

Finally, many working-class women are more comfortable with their anger than with their weaknesses. Discovering the power in appropriate vulnerability and dependence is something with which the pastoral counselor might be especially helpful. The relatively reciprocal relationship of feminist counseling is threatening to some working-class women, and they must be encouraged to give up their one-down position for the collaborative effort of counseling.

Counseling Working-Class Women

Ministers who serve inner city or working class
churches soon discover that both the methods and the
goals of pastoral counseling as usually conceived are
ineffective with many persons from lower socioeconomic
classes. The goals borrowed from psychotherapy --
growth through self-awareness, personality integration
through resolving inner conflicts and movement toward

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[84]McKenney, 145.

[85]This re-framing is suggested by Guadalupe Gibson, 128.

[86]Doris Jeffries, "Counseling for the Strengths of the Black Woman," Counseling Psychologist 7, no. 2 (1976): 20-22.

> self-fulfillment -- are alien to the 'world' of the
> majority of these persons.
>
> --Howard Clinebell[87]

In 1974 the American Psychological Association declared that a lack of knowledge of a client's culture was not only undesirable, but also unethical.[88] It behooves pastors as well to understand the life and culture of the working-class woman, such that counseling would have differing goals depending on her perception of how much control and responsibility she has over defining and solving her problems.

Women in the Kansas City study were asked how they would characterize a good counselor, pastoral or otherwise. Middle-class women referred to someone who "let you talk comfortably and find your own solutions since you are going to have to live with them, someone to guide you subtly, not too quick to label, not using pat phrases," and also to someone who "would help you realize your potential." But middle-class women also wanted someone who could "look at the situation objectively and give advice accordingly" and someone who could "help me assess my situation, motivate, me and provide resources." Some wanted a listening presence, others a skilled problem solver.

Working-class women also found a good listener very important as it was specifically mentioned by five of the fifteen

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[87]Howard Clinebell, Basic Types of Pastoral Care and Counseling (Nashville: Abingdon, 1968), 152.

[88]Cited in Juris Draguns, "Cross Cultural Counseling and Psychotherapy: History, Issues, Current Status," Cross-Cultural Counseling and Psychotherapy, eds. Anthony J. Marsella and Paul B. Pedersen (New York: Pergamon, 1981), 3-27.

women. Listening was important partly to build trust and confidence, to become "in tune," and to affirm uniqueness ("to zero in on me, try to undersand me and what I'm saying -- forget about the rules for everyone else"). But it was also important so that time was not used up with the counselor's experience and problems and so that appropriate options for problem-solving could be created. A counselor with specific knowledge and skills was important to working-class women, as evidenced in their search for someone who "knows the answers or could help you figure them out -- either one so long as something was getting solved," someone who was "objective, with enough know-how to see what my problem is and let me know how to go about correcting it," someone "intelligent, on their toes, a lot smarter than me so they can help me solve my problem," someone "well educated who could relieve me of my problem." For the most part, however, working-class women aren't looking for an authority figure to tell them what to do ("I want options, not absolutes") nor someone to give unconditional affirmation ("I want someone who can see through my bull-shit") nor someone who will let them "flounder to solve it alone."

Women in the Kansas City study were also asked how a minister could be of maximum help to them. Middle-class women referred to the desire for encouragement, for reassurance, for emotional support like a friend, for a calm and quiet presence, for a non-judgmental, comfortable, and trustworthy person.

Collectively, some form of kindness was the most important value mentioned.

Working-class women wanted many of these things, including someone who was "comfortable with themselves, laid back, and at peace" and someone who wouldn't "charge you too much." But they also wanted someone who was experienced with life, someone who could "demonstrate by their life-style they've been through something," someone who was "realistic, a hip guy, in tune with what's going on," someone who could "be honest and have the strength to tell me what they think," and someone to "show me ways to make a decision and give advice by sharing some of himself." There is clarity about not wanting to be told what to do, but also a willingness to hear "what they would do." There is an awareness that sharing of wisdom creates better solutions than individual ponderings. Without admitting any lack of intelligence, working-class women admit that the answers to their problems are not wholely inside themselves. Collectively, the value most prized by working-class women is honesty, which has a much better chance of solving their problems than does kindness.

If the locus of personal problems and solutions is outside the individual and in the environment, then certain therapeutic orientations will be more helpful than others. Both psychoanalysis and behaviorism tend to be individualistic. Biologically based therapies (biofeedback, bio-energetics, dance therapy), existential therapy which focuses on freedom and authenticity of being, and humanistic therapies which promote

individuality and self-hood are all therapies which find the source of problems and solutions in the individual with no particular social accountability.[89] In contradistinction to these, however, the greatest resources for the working class seem to be found in the social therapies which recognize the needs for relatedness and esteem within society, the frustrated goals of social acceptance and social responsibility, and the therapeutic goals of empowerment, mutuality, community, and an inclusive culture.

Alfred Adler's Individual Psychology, which understands the importance of the individual in the context of the community, provides just such a social therapy, as do many that have openly acknowledged their debt to Adler: those who seek to alter beliefs and values which keep one powerless (Albert Ellis' Rational-Emotive Therapy[90] and William Glasser's Reality Therapy[91]), those neo-psychoanalysts who focus on interpersonal relations (Karen

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[89]For a summary of value orientations in different types of therapy see C. M. Lowe, Value Orientations in Counseling and Psychotherapy (San Francisco: Chandler, 1969). See also Richard C. Erickson. Adler's influence on existential, person-centered, Gestalt, and T.A. is noted by Gerald Corey, Theory and Practice of Counseling and Psychotherapy, 3rd ed. (Pacific Grove, Ca.: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co., 1986), 66.

[90]There is no better feminist therapy than Rational-Emotive Therapy, because it makes one aware of oppressive beliefs, according to Janet L. Wolfe, "Rational-Emotive Therapy as an Effective Feminist Therapy," Rational Living 11, no. 1 (1976): 2-7.

[91]See Robert M. Collie, "Pastoral Counseling in the Context of Social Action," Pastoral Psychology 21 (1970): 45-48. The importance of analysis of beliefs is also shown in Linda James Myers, "A Therapeutic Model for Transcending Oppression: A Black Feminist Perspective," Women and Therapy 5, no. 4 (1986): 39-49.

Horney, Eric Fromm, Henry Stack Sullivan), and many family

systems therapists. Social learning therapies are also effective

because they focus on results and solving concrete problems in

the present.[92] As suggested by Turner and Noh, it is the

combination of both personal control and social support which

decreases vulnerability in human lives, while each by itself

provides no such benefit.[93]

The Adlerian perspective is helpful with working-class women

for several reasons. First, there is respect and dignity granted

persons by Adlerians, who do not see clients as sick, but as

discouraged and in need of re-education for social living.[94]

Thus, therapy provides the encouragement to experience equality

with others and to become a contributing member of society. Such

equality begins with a collaborative therapeutic relationship of

equals who establish and work from a contract. This fosters a

working relationship of trust through the affirmation of client

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[92]See Maria Teresa Ramirez Boulette, "Determining Needs and Appropriate Counseling Approaches for Mexican American Women: A Comparison of Therapeutic Listening and Behavioral Reversal," Dissertation Abstracts International 34-B (1973): 868. Also T. R. Boulette, "Assertive Training with Low-Income Mexican American Women," Psychotherapy with the Spanish Speaking: Issues in Research and Service Delivery, monograph no.3, ed. M. R. Miranda (Los Angeles: UCLA, 1976), 67-71.

[93]R. Jay Turner and Samuel Noh, "Class and Psychological Vulnerability Among Women: The Significance of Social Support and Personal Control," Journal of Health and Social Behavior 24 (1983): 2-15.

[94]A helpful summarization of Adlerian therapy as espoused by both Adler and current Adlerians such as Rudolf Dreikurs and Don Dinkmeyer, may be found in Corey, 45-71.

strengths and engenders a sense of client responsibility for needed changes in life-goals.[95]

Second, the Adlerian perspective directly addresses the need for exposing and altering one's personal mythology, what a Marxist might call de-mystification or making sense out of what is really happening.[96] This would involve understanding the client's inferiority, explaining the client's unworkable life-goal and life-style to her as the final fiction is made clear, and providing the interpretive insight which educates. Mosak has identified five basic mistakes in clients' thinking which disturb life-goals and life-style: overgeneralizations, impossible goals, misperceptions of life and life's demands, denial of one's basic worth, and faulty values.[97] Any of these mistakes might be generated in one's family constellation or in the midst of bourgeois culture.

Third, there is no pretense of value-neutrality in Adlerian counseling with sociality being clearly affirmed. The limitations of the values of control, success, security, and

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[95]Rudolf Dreikurs is an Adlerian who suggests that while we may have dispensed with the need for conformity, too much counseling still focuses on mistakes, ignoring that one can only build on strengths (pp. 10-11).

[96]Bromley, 218-19, suggests that therapy is a two-fold process of de-mystification and de-alienation, although his theoretical base is that of Object Relations, such that de-alienation refers to making conscious the repressed, split parts of the self so that the power of one's own creativity is rediscovered.

[97]H. Mosak, "Adlerian Psychotherapy," Current Psychotherapies (3rd ed.), ed. Raymond J. Corsini (Itasca, Ill.: Peacock, 1984).

pleasing others are made clear through both self-evaluation and confrontation, and the importance of de-alienation through the values of cooperation and social interest is actively espoused. The importance of both cognitive and emotional work in the re-ordering of values is clear,[98] although de-alienation occurs by translating understanding into action. It implies breaking free from the privatizing of one's problems by seeing them in social context. It encourages working with families and groups, because one understands the intersections of material and social forces within the working-class woman's life.

Fourth, Adlerians affirm the importance and reality of personal power and choice to direct one's life. It is an action oriented therapy which may use role-play (acting "as if") and home work (goal-setting, implementation, evaluation) to achieve its ends. Its aim is to solve problems of living, not merely to feel better.

Individual Counseling

Working-class women differ in their specific care and counseling needs, as the Locus of Control and Locus of

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[98]For the importance of emotional work in moral aspiration, the role of counselor as mediator in managing moral feeling, and the importance of story-telling in triggering the desire to act morally I am indebted to Cheshire Calhoun, "Emotional Work," Explorations in Feminist Ethics Conference, Duluth, 8 October 1988. The connections between sentiment, story-telling, and morality are similarly made by William Kirk Kilpatrick, "Moral Character, Story-Telling, and Virtue," Psychological Foundations of Moral Education and Character Development: An Integrated Theory of Moral Development, eds. Richard T. Knowles and George F. McLean (New York: University Press of America, 1986), 188.

Responsibility grid in Chapter 2 made apparent.[99]   Individual

counseling of the Adlerian type is individualized.   But it may be

helpful to think in terms of at least four different trajectories

along which working-class women's counseling needs might be

found.   As noted in Chapter 2, however, health is gaining the

flexibility to claim internal or external locus of control,

internal or external locus of responsibility as the situation

demands.   Health is to engage in the overcoming of powerlessness

and indignity for the social interest which empowers and

dignifies both self and community.

A woman who is IC-IR (internal locus of control and internal

locus of responsibility) with a working-class background offers

an interesting complexity of dynamics.   According to Greenspan,

the middle-class woman with a working-class background may feel a

sense of shame at the working-class life she left behind, which

conflicts with a fierce sense of loyalty to the working class.[100]

Or she may feel like an "imposter" who only got where she is by

fooling everyone and who lives with the constant fear of being

found out and humiliated.   She may see herself as an interloper,

a stranger in a strange land.   And her mobility conflict may

reveal diffused anger, chronic anxiety, people pleasing, or

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[99]The four personality configuration emerging from the grid
constituted by the intersection of Locus of Control and Locus of
Responsibility can be found on pages 139-42.

[100]Greenspan, 283.

substance abuse.[101] Finally, the IC-IR woman (as well as the IC-ER woman) may be one who has no trouble exposing her strengths, but defends mightily against her vulnerabilities and weaknesses. In bourgeois culture which promotes individualism and technological advancement, people feel ashamed for being weak. The fears that lie beneath the fierceness and intellectualization need to be uncovered with great care.[102] Adlerian encouragement which explores the contradictions of early history and present context may be quite helpful.

A woman who is <u>EC-IR</u> (external locus of control and internal locus of responsibility) has taken responsibility for something over which she has no control. A group consciousness raising approach to lay some of the responsibility on the oppressiveness of a system structured for competition and dominance-submission is appropriate. Western capitalist culture values the one who is thin, white, middle-class, young, heterosexual, Protestant, financially secure, and male. One who deviates from this ideal in a competitive system is rejected and hated, which engenders self-rejection and self-hatred. Unlike anger, hatred is aversion coupled with ill will, according to Audre Lorde, and in an oppressive system hatred is easily internalized by any who are in

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[101]For several experiences of abandoning one's class origins in academia see Ryan and Sackrey, 11, 118.

[102]The importance of intellectualization and of non-emotional assertiveness is noted by Snarey and Vaillant, 907. While they studied men, it is believed appropriate to upwardly mobile working-class women as well.

a subordinate position.[103] That internalization needs to be identified and spoken. Then the working-class woman can become clearer about rejecting oppressiveness, whether it occurs in the dominant bourgeois culture or her own working-class cultural background. When hatred is stripped of its ill will, it can be transformed into anger, which might be used as the energy to impel a vision of a new future.

Anger is complex, however. When people are separated and distant, anger can function to bring them closer. But when there is over-connectedness, anger can function to create distance and separateness.[104] Much feminist literature focuses on women's anger and the need to deal with it. Women's fear of anger is linked to the fear of abandonment or fear of violent retribution. In some cases, however, these are realistic fears, and a private solution to her anger only dissipates it for possible constructive collective expression.[105]

Another way of understanding the EC-IR working-class woman is that her self-hatred involves a sense of shame, as was mentioned in the situation of the IC-IR woman with a working-class background. Many working-class women have accepted the

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[103]Audre Lorde, "Age, Race, Class, and Sex: Women Redefining Difference," Sister Outsider (Trumansburg, N. Y.: Crossing Press, 1984), 123.

[104]Virginia Satir, The New Peoplemaking (Palo Alto: Science & Behavior Books, 1988). See also Audre Lorde, "Eye to Eye: Black Women, Hatred, and Anger," 168.

[105]Alexandra Kaplan et al., "Women and Anger in Psychotherapy," Women Changing Therapy, eds. Joan Robbins and Rachel J. Siegel (New York: Haworth, 1983), 34.

ideology of the Protestant work ethic that hard work makes for success. They know they have worked hard but have not succeeded, and so they will often experience a sense of shame. They do not tend to feel guilty for a wrong done. After all, they _did_ all they could. They tend to feel ashamed for who they are. Because of wanting to hide feelings of shame, focus on feelings of any kind is often threatening. They experience having no control over what the world believes about them and yet they experience being responsible for it.

Shame is constituted by a loss of face before significant persons, a failure before one's ideal or exposure and vulnerability before an audience, embarrassment before social demands, a fear of rejection, exclusion, or the withdrawal of love, the impulse to hide and cover oneself, and denying the self as worthy of honor or respect (feeling small and weak).[106] Those experiences provide the seedbed for shame. These women experience never being "good enough" and so often live life needing to be "better than".[107]

Adler's understanding of the overcoming of inferiority feelings with a will to superiority is a helpful insight in working through socio-genic shame experienced by many women in

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[106]Ronald Potter-Efron and Patricia Potter-Efron, _I Deserve Respect: Finding and Healing Shame in Personal Relationships_ (Center City, Minn.: Hazelden, 1989), 4. Augsburger, 122.

[107]Bruce W. Barth, "Shame," _A.A.P.C. Newsletter_ 27, no. 4 (1989): 5, 11, suggests that shame comes in receiving no response, no recognition (re-cognito = to know again), because in early life one is not responded to as an end-in-oneself but only as a means to bolster the parental ego.

the working class, for shame-based relations are characterized by looking for mistakes in the other to validate one's own superiority, attacking another at his/her vulnerable points, and questioning the intelligence, sanity, or common sense of the other.[108] While guilt is resolved through forgiveness, shame is resolved through acceptance and affirmation of one's dignity and goodness, the recognition of one's ego ideals, the reclaiming of prized values, grieving for their loss and betrayal, reaffirmation of ideals as guides to goals sought rather than judgments to be dreaded, examination of values betrayed before others, and recommitment of the self to regaining respect of others.[109]

A woman who is EC-ER (external locus of control and external locus of responsibility) is one who has learned helplessness. The battle of life has taught her that what she knows and does will not affect the outcome of any given task, but also that she is not responsible for this. She has learned failure and has either given up or placates those in power. According to Michael Lerner, the working class endures not only the real powerlessness of not owning the means of production, but participates in "surplus powerlessness" which is a set of feelings and beliefs that makes people think of themselves as more powerless than they

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[108]Potter-Efron and Potter-Efron, 3. Other shame-inducing behaviors are threats of abandonment and rejection, perfectionism, keeping secrets, physical and sexual abuse, overconcern with what others think, public humiliating (p. 5).

[109]Augsburger, 135. Potter-Efron and Potter-Efron, 4.

are, leads people to self-blame, to act to confirm this powerlessness, to operate <u>as if</u> no one will listen or will take them seriously.[110] This working-class woman needs to be heard and taken seriously. She needs to learn success, not in terms of winning but in terms of empowerment and experiencing some sense of internal control over life.

One should not assume that working outside the home will necessarily be something that will overcome the sense of failure and solve problems of self-esteem, however, if the work is routine and minimum wage. It may in fact contribute to oppressiveness if one is working-class. On the other hand, work, family, and friends are interdependent, and stress in one area can affect other areas of life. A sensitive and aware pastoral counselor will be open to discussing a woman's work as a possible area of stress, for this may be where she feels most powerless and most a failure.

Action-oriented therapies which strengthen one's sense of personal power and one's tolerance for frustration and ambiguity are important for these women,[111] whether from the Adlerian perspective, the behavioral and social learning perspective,[112]

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[110]Michael Lerner, <u>Surplus Powerlessness</u>, ii.

[111]These assets to "structured learning therapy" are noted by Arnold P. Goldstein, <u>Structured Learning Therapy: Toward a Psychotherapy for the Poor</u> (New York: Academic Press, 1973), 69.

[112]John M. Dillard, <u>Multi-Cultural Counseling: Toward Ethnic and Cultural Relevance in Human Encounters</u> (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1983), 270.

or the problem-solving perspective.[113] In addition role-playing, psychodrama, and ritual prescription as forms of en-acting problems and solutions are often helpful among the poor and working class who need the experience of success.[114]

Role play, which can be used with any type of working-class woman, might be for catharsis, support, self-awareness, problem objectification, insight (through emotional re-education) and re-learning roles.[115] This includes behavioral rehearsal to deal with anticipated or actual difficulties.[116] Role-play is congenial to the poor and working class because it is action-oriented, concrete, problem directed, group centered, informal, and more game-like than test-like. While low income persons prefer a tone or mood that is informal and easy, they prefer a content that is more structured and task centered, according to Riessman.[117] Role play is a good confidence builder and provides

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[113]Gerard Egan, _The Skilled Helper_ 2nd ed. (Monterrey, Ca.: Brooks/Cole, 1982).

[114]Rachel Levine, "Treatment in the Homes," _Social Work_ 9 (1964): 19-28. Browning, "Pastoral Care and the Poor."

[115]Frank Riessman, "Role-Playing and the Lower Socio-Economic Group," _Pastoral Psychology_ 19 (1968): 50-60. B. F. Young and M. Rosenberg, "Role-Playing as a Participation Technique," _Journal of Social Issues_ 5, no. 1 (1945): 42-45.

[116]Arnold A. Lazarus, "Behavior Rehearsal vs. Non-Directive Therapy vs. Advice in Effecting Behavior Change," _Behavior Research and Therapy_ 4 (1966): 209-12.

[117]Riessman, "Role Playing," 53.

not only intellectual learning but also kinesthetic, emotional, experiential learning as well.[118]

Psychodrama as developed by Moreno is much more like a stage production than role-play. It is therefore experienced by the poor and working class as "gimmicky" and as one more occasion where they are not "good enough" (as actors) to participate. Although there is initial resistance, psychodrama has been used effectively, with groups of disadvantaged and rebellious youth.[119]

Prescribing rituals is yet another possible course of action with the working-class woman or family in which the counselor is pragmatic, action-oriented, gives instructions, works with the client toward well-defined goals, and understands the counseling as time-limited. According to van der Hart's thorough study of ritual in psychotherapy, ritual addresses the most basic level of human experience, the level of symbolism, myth, and metaphor,

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[118]Riessman claims that low income persons are physical not only in the work they do, the religion they express, the child-rearing they enforce, the sports they play, the gestures they use, but they work out mental problems best when they can do things physically (p. 51). He also notes that while the middle class can use role play, it should be used to curb intellectualization, to increase emotional expression and integration. The working class should use it to develop a structure within which emotion can be express and to increase verbalization about problems and solutions (p. 58).

[119]Jacob L. Moreno, Psychodrama, Vol. 1 (Beacon, N.Y.: Beacon House, 1946). Elaine Goldman and Sally Goldman, "Sociodrama and Psychodrama with Urban Disadvantaged Youth," Group Psychotherpay 21 (1968): 206-10. Helen Hittson, "Psychodrama in a Church Counseling Program," Group Psychotherapy 23, nos. 3-4 (1970): 113-17. John B. Oman, "A Theology for Psychodrama," Group Psychotherapy 27, no. 1 (1974): 48-54.

where resistance to change lies.[120] Ritual has long been known

to have conserving functions such as re-establishing continuity

with tradition and reconciling a group. What is recently

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[120]Onno van der Hart, <u>Rituals in Psychotherapy: Transition and Continuity</u> (New York: Irvington, 1983), suggests there are two types of rituals: rituals of continuity (which includes telectic rites, intensification rites, and some therapeutic rituals) and rituals of transition (which includes healing and therapeutic rituals). Rituals of continuity occur at regularly appointed times, such as Christmas, Easter, Sunday dinner, taking the children to bed. Rituals of rebellion are a special type of intensification ritual which serve the function of continuing the status quo, e.g., those who are in unfavorable position in a family or society can express justifiable anger against those who are better off without social consequences, at a set time yearly or when disaster strikes. Rituals of transition are basically rites of passage and could include initiation rituals and rituals which exorcise illness to restore the sick to ordinary life, but also enact a death and rebirth process, saying good-bye, the transition to adulthood, and termination ceremonies.
Van der Hart sets the context for different types of rituals by naming families which vary according to degree of group pressure and group structure. Those strong on group pressure and strong on group structure are called "established authority" families where social roles are defined, behavior is prescribed and unambiguous, relations are known and fixed, and behavior rather than motives is the standard of morality. There are many transition and continuity rituals in such families, but there is a need for rituals which would relax some of the group pressure and structure for greater expression of individuality. Second, the families strong on group pressure and weak on group structure are called "enmeshed" families and have clear external-group boundaries but much internal confusion, intensive mutual interaction, loosely defined roles. There are many healing and purification rituals in these families in order to keep what is evil outside and to heal the repeatedly symptomatic person, but there is a need for rituals which facilitate leaving home and allow for greater individual expression. Third, the families weak on group pressure and weak on group structure are called "disengaged" families and have an open system, loose structure, little mutual dependence, little group cohesion. Persons are generally cheerful and avoid conflict by avoiding bonding. Such families have few rituals, and thus there is a need to increase both the number and the quality of rituals of continuity, especially of intensification of interaction. Working-class persons might be in any of these three groups, although they are found predominantly in the first two.

becoming clearer is the transformative power of ritual.[121]   Mara
Selvini Palazzoli calls it "the silent shifting of norms."[122]   It
involves the dislocation of static relations by enacting
(penetrating, engaging, intensifying) what "is" so that choices
can be made, or so its opposite can emerge.[123]   Because ritual
more than words facilitates cooperation for the common good, it
is seen as a powerful tool in nearly any individual, family, or
group work with the working class.

The EC-ER woman who placates those in power, also does so
from a sense of failure, but she is silent for fear of
retaliation.   Here one needs to understand the importance of
transforming silence into speech.[124]   Silence stems from fear
that speaking will bring disaster, fear of contempt, censure,
judgment, recognition, challenge, or annihilation.   Those in

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[121]For this distinction see Victor Turner, The Ritual
Process (Aldine, 1969), 94-107.   Also Urban T. Holmes, "Ritual
and the Social Drama," Worship 51 (1977): 209.   A recognition of
both the conserving and transforming functions of ritual is noted
in Evan Imber-Black, "Creating Rituals in Therapy," Family
Therapy Networker 13, no. 4 (1989): 40, who lists five themes of
rituals: membership in a family or group, healing of old wounds,
establishing a new identity, a belief negotiating process, and
celebration of personal and interpersonal changes.

[122]Mara Selvini Palazzoli et al., "Family Rituals a Powerful
Tool in Family Therapy," Family Process 16, no. 4 (1977): 453.

[123]This dialectical assumption about the nature of reality
and of ritual is assumed but not named in W. J. Seltzer and M. R.
Seltzer, "Material, Myth, and Magic: A Cultural Approach to
Family Therapy," Family Process 22, no. 1 (1983): 10.

[124]See Audre Lorde, "The Transformation of Silence into
Language and Action," Sister Outsider (Trumansburg, N.Y.:
Crossing Press, 1984), 41-44 for a powerful explication of the
way poor and ethnic women are taught not to speak, of the healing
power of speech.

power would have subordinates believe that silence protects, but actually it destroys, because it necessitates swallowing indignities. When Audre Lorde, lesbian Afro-American, asked her daughter about silence and speech, she received this response:

> Tell them about how you are never really a whole person if you remain silent, because there's always that one little piece inside you that wants to be spoken out, and if you keep ignoring it, it gets madder and madder and hotter and hotter, and if you don't speak it out one day it will just up and punch you in the mouth from the inside.[125]

The importance of "hearing one another to speech" as Nelle Morton has suggested,[126] is what gives birth to a woman's soul. When the voice begins in a whisper, the counselor's job is to help amplify it. But it may also begin as a silent scream. This is the deep scarring and pain induced by systemic oppression. The pain must be felt, spoken, accepted, and transformed. Lorde believes that suffering is the reliving of unscrutinized and unmetabolized pain. If it is not recognized it cannot be used. Claiming one's power is releasing what is weak, timid, and damaged and protecting/supporting what is useful to survival and change.[127]

A woman who is IC-ER (internal locus of control and external locus of responsibility) is most probably angry because she sees the systemic injustice and the need for collective action.

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[125]Lorde, "The Transformation of Silence into Language and Action," 42.

[126]Nelle Morton, The Journey is Home (Boston: Beacon, 1985).

[127]Lorde, "Eye to Eye: Black Women, Hatred, and Anger," 171, 173.

Because these women want to be active in the counseling process, examining options for action and consequences of the various alternatives together with other women is empowering. It is important that the counselor understand collective action that aims to change the system as therapeutic in and of itself, and not something that therapy simply prepares one for.[128] The counselor also needs to be active and self-disclosing with advice, directions, and suggestions for action. This is best done within a feminist perspective which values both product and process, values decisions of informed groups more than powerful individuals, and uses win-win strategies if possible.[129]

Among this IC-ER group it is possible to find women who envy those in the middle class, but cover this and manifest it as hatred. According to Ann Ulanov, a Jungian, the most appropriate response to envy is to look to the good. The envier wants to steal the goodness of the envied because she wants no part of the badness in which she feels confined. The envy signals an internal fracturing of the whole.[130] From an Adlerian perspective, however, the one who envies not only wants the good

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[128]This is the view of Sturdivant, 148.

[129]Ruth A. Brandwein, "Women and Community Organization," _The Woman Client: Providing Human Services in a Changing World_, eds. Dianne S. Burden and Naomi Gottlieb (New York: Tavistock, 1987), 116. Win-lose strategies are necessary only in situations of limited resources, although win-win strategies may mean identifying other resources, expanding interest groups, and identifying super-ordinate goals (p. 119).

[130]Ann Ulanov and Barry Ulanov, _Cinderella and Her Sisters_ (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983), 72-83.

that the other possesses but wishes her ill for having it, a form
of control to compensate for felt inferiority sometimes
experienced as hunger. The common working-class theme of women's
hunger is vividly described by Marge Piercy:

> Rather than contemplating the cosmos Jill hungers:
> "Hunger (for food, work, learning, love, sex, friends)
> is a wind that blows through me most of the time. I
> experience myself as a clamorous need, a volume level
> of desire turned too high."[131]

The Adlerian counselor helps the woman to discover the good in
the self and the other, a good which is given and not made or
earned. Social change strategy then must continually be examined
to implement a vision of the good rather than to stamp out evil.
Doing battle with evil never really addresses the ultimate goal
of reconciliation.

One model for combining therapy and community action is that
of Adams and Durham's "dialectical counseling," a two-phase
process. Phase one deals with secondary (personal and
derivative) contradicitons and problems by developing new
alliances, attitudes, behaviors, and skills. Phase two teaches
the client to deal with primary (systemic and basic)
contradictions. Throughout the process there is much concern
with non-decisions that reinforce the status quo. Mystification
and suppression of the dialectic comes from denying the material
(income, housing, food availability, physical comfort,

131Marge Piercy, Braided Lives, p. 231, quoted in Debby
Sarsgard, "Accepting Our Class Backgrounds: The Theme of Class in
Marge Piercy's Braided Lives," Women: A Journal of Liberation 8,
no. 3 (1983): 66.

transportation, health, one's power position relative to others) and emphasizing the abstract (dreams, goals, abstract values). Dialectical counseling heightens awareness of contradiction and does not merely focus on successes or the power of positive thinking. The counselor might play devil's advocate to make the client aware of joy-hurt and freedom-oppression with the goal of seeing any given problem as part of a complex of contradictions in life. Change thus can occur in two phases: 1) harmony, searching, agreements, rationality, caution, plans and 2) struggle, emotions, disagreement, risking, action.[132] It assumes that the natural state of humans is to be in flux and that pain is alienation from the synthesizing process.

Mechanistic counseling, however, which characterizes Phase One, assumes predictability in human development, relies on individual values and goals as guides to decisions, and reforms by building on successes. It claims that pain is caused by alienation from one's values or environment, and assumes that the natural state of humans is pain-free equilibrium. Adams and Durham claim that mechanistic counseling stops after phase one, never discovering the multi-dimensional basis of living. Rarely does mechanistic counseling question non-decisions, such as decisions not to buy a house, get married, or have children in our society. Not to decide makes the contradictions in these

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[132]Harold J. Adams and Leona Durham, "A Dialectical Base for an Activist Approach to Counseling," Psychotherapy for Women: Treatment Toward Equality, eds. Edna Rawlings and Dianne K. Carter (Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, 1977), 418-20.

life patterns unclear, and one remains mystified, unaware of the roots of one's pain, and uninvolved in the necessary process of integrating both the material conditions of life and their opposites.

Couple and Family Counseling

Some working-class women in all of the above four categories center their lives on marriage and family and so become more vulnerable to manipulation and the oppression possible in a privatized, economically strained existence. They may in fact be less free in relationship than middle-class women, although an increase in the percentage of family income which they contribute increases their family power. They tend therefore to favor fidelity and discourage relational experimentation, and they may be attracted to political and religious groups which seek to conserve the family in its traditional form, although this may provide untold strain during changing times. Families can be oppressive.

But families can also be supportive. Working-class women are often in active relationship with their extended family which can be a key link between the nuclear family and the cultural group. It can provide emotional support, financial help, companionship, problem solving (including marital guidance) and assistance with the children.[133] Or as Bev Fisher so incitefully notes,

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[133]On the value and functions of the extended family see Pinderhughes, 57.

> The family is often the "soul" of minority and lower-class culture. It provides a shelter for the abuses of a classist, racist, sexist society. It is a place where one knows she can go when she's in trouble or needs help; most often, the mother is the backbone of that shelter. Feminists have examined in detail the oppressive aspects of that role, but have seldom analyzed the function of home and family as a positive force.[134]

To encourage the strengths of these family ties, though they may be the context of strain at any given time, the woman should be seen with her most significant others, whether this is her spouse, children, mother-in-law, or friends at church, unless individual time is specifically requested or the problem is firmly understood initially by the woman as an individual one. Family therapy has caused many therapists to shift value priorities _from_ self-actualization, success, and unlimited freedom _to_ fairness, cooperation, mutuality, and harmony.[135] These are also the values of many working-class families. To see the working-class woman _with_ others as soon as possible is most empowering.

Feminism has also taught us that two parents are not required to make a family, and often a single-parent family is more consultative and less hierarchical than the traditional family.[136] This should be affirmed as an asset among working-class women, for families function most efficiently and happily

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[134]Fisher, 13.

[135]Seymour L. Halleck, "Family Therapy and Social Change," _Social Casework_ 57, no. 8 (1976): 483-93.

[136]Thelma Jean Goodrich et al., _Feminist Family Therapy: A Casebook_ (New York: Norton, 1988), 73f.

when the power is equal. Unequal power should be brief and should be based on differing responsibilities or information that protects others.[137] The key issue in counseling any working-class family is not simple problem solution but empowerment for on-going living and loving, which includes problem solving.

In his review of types of family therapy for use with families in transition, Everett Worthington notes that psycho-educational family therapy is most helpful when family problems have a non-family cause.[138] This certainly applies to poor and working-class families when the problem is economic, and can be especially useful in family or couple groups, especially in situations where many workers are affected by economic shifts such as plant closings.

A second type of family therapy, Structural Family Therapy, is often used for training in communication, resolving disagreements, resolving power hierarchies and chronic conflict.[139] The Baltimore Family Life Center practices "enriched" structural family therapy with the low-income black families it sees. Therapists see this as a brief behavioral therapy, lasting 5-10 sessions with its focus in the present. Problematic situations are enacted and solutions are found in the interaction, since in a dialectical theory, problems and

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[137]Halleck, 484.

[138]Everett L. Worthington, "Treatment of Families During Life Transitions: Matching Treatment to Family Response," Family Process 26, no. 2 (1987): 303.

[139]Worthington, 304-305.

solutions are obverse sides of the same coin.[140] The focus is on competence, the strength of the family,[141] the transfer of skills used in other aspects of its life, getting the family to communicate love and experience success.[142]

Other forms of behavioral couple and family therapy have rich possibilities for the working class, because they are brief, they focus on action, and the goals are happiness and success. Richard Stuart's "caring days" technique[143] and the "reciprocity counseling" of Nathan Azrin and colleagues, which is based on the premise of mates making one another happy, are two such examples.[144] Catharsis counseling for marital difficulty is not

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[140]Salvador Minuchin, "Conflict-Resolution Family Therapy," Changing Families, ed. Jay Haley (New York: Grune and Stratton, 1971), 149. Once the problem is enacted, Minuchin would say that the pain in that pattern is pointed out and a new emotional context suggested for that same conflict, e.g., a context of cooperation rather than competition. To face and name the pain, to affirm strengths, and to suggest a new approach is a powerful turning point. Then the solutional context is enacted and evaluated. In the evaluating, in the acting and reflecting one becomes conscious of observing and being observed, and one thus learns introspection.

[141]This focus on strengths of the family is affirmed also by Jandyra Valazquez, Working with Minority Families, (Highland, Ind.: Creative Audio, 1986), cassette.

[142]Velazquez claims that "success is how you hold your head." She also asks families if they are low-income or poor. The former still have some dignity, but the latter are fatalistic and despairing, she claims.

[143]Richard Stuart, "Operant-Interpersonal Treatment for Marital Discord," Journal of Consulting Clinical Psychology 33 (1969): 675.

[144]Nathan H. Azrin, Barry J. Naster, and Robert Jones, "Reciprocity Counseling: A Rapid Learning-Based Procedure for Marital Counseling," Behavior Research and Therapy 11 (1972): 365-82.

found empirically to be of much help, especially among the working class.

Group Counseling

The effective counselor with working-class women will also utilize community resources such as self-help groups, social and legal services, and literature.[145] While feminist consciousness-raising groups are often thought to be a particularly middle-class phenomenon, group counseling for supportive problem-solving is quite viable for working-class women. These might include:

Creative Solutions Rap Group.[146] The group usually lasts 1-2 hours and deals with one or two women's concerns. The facilitator explains the purpose and process of the group, as well as her role as facilitator, as note-taker, and as summarizer of feelings and process. One woman volunteers to "go." She shares all the particulars of her concern. The facilitator helps to focus and clarify. The group gives feedback of similar experiences and feelings. The woman and the group are then asked to identify what aspects of her problem are unique to her as a woman, i.e., which would not exist if she were a man. While not

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[145]A comprehensive discussion of the self-help movement may be found in Alan Gartner and Frank Riessman, Self Help in the Human Services (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977). Some of the problems of such groups are noted in Victor Sidel and Ruth Sidel, "Beyond Coping," Social Problems 23, no.1 (1976): 67-69. See also G. S. Tracy and Z. Gussow, "Self-Help Groups: A Grass-Roots Response to a Need for Services," Journal of Applied Behavioral Science 12, no. 3 (1976): 381-96, for an understanding of the healing and political advocacy functions of such groups.

[146]Sue Kirk, "The Role of Politics in Feminist Counseling," Women Changing Therapy, eds. Joan H. Robbins and Rachel J. Siegel (New York: Haworth, 1983), 180-81.

mentioned by Kirk, the woman could also be asked to identify what aspects of her problem are unique to her as a member of the working class, which would not exist if she were middle-class. The woman and the group then brainstorm a vision of the world in which circumstances creating the problem didn't exist, asking "how would life be different?" The facilitator then refocuses the group on the personal nature of the problem. Some of the problem may now be solved, some of it re-defined. The woman and the group brainstorm creative solutions and their consequences. The group concludes with evaluation.

Radical Psychiatry Problem-Solving Groups.[147] Radical psychiatry is understood as a form of community organization, utilizing the theories of R. D. Laing, Fritz Perls, and the Transactional Analysts Eric Berne and Claude Steiner. It teaches people problem-solving skills and political awareness, since people are not sick but are socially oppressed. It understands people as basically good and under the right conditions they can live together cooperatively. Radical psychiatry utilizes three formulas to express its central tenets:

Alienation = Oppression + Mystification

Oppression + Awareness = Anger

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[147]Hoagie Wyckoff, "Problem Solving Groups for Women," Issues in Radical Therapy 1, no. 1 (1973): 6-12. Hoagie Wyckoff, "Radical Psychiatry for Women," Psychotherapy for Women, ed. Edna Rawlings and Dianne Carter (Springfield, Ill.: C. C. Thomas, 1977), 370-91. Hoagie Wyckoff, "Radical Psychiatry Techniques for Solving Women's Problems in Groups," Psychotherapy for Women, eds. Edna Rawlings and Dianne Carter (Springfield, Ill.: C. C. Thomas, 1977), 392-403.

Awareness + Contact = Action > Liberation

Once the deception, the mystification that the problem is an individual (rather than a collective) one and an abstract (rather than a material) one is removed, women can realize they are oppressed. Awareness is the opposite of mystification and leads to action in the context of supportive community. Neither awareness nor contact alone is sufficient. The goal of these groups is empowerment. The format is a group of eight women with one or two leaders who meet two hours per week. Each member must make a contract with the group stating her goals in the form of behavior change. This guards against the facilitator imposing values on the women and keeps the emphasis on the here and now. Homework is a step by step means to reaching one's goals and is either set by the group or, especially as the woman is a more experienced group member, by the woman herself. Group members sign up for group time desired. The group is encouraged to talk openly about solutions, and functions to demystify attempts of members to collude and keep secrets. Using concepts of Transactional Analysis, women learn to identify what their child wants, how to become a nurturing parent to oneself, how to "off" the punishing parent, and how to brag. Some Radical Therapy groups teach the four-fold method of constructive criticism which is to state "I am . . . (feeling)" + "When . . . (observation)" + "I want . . . (action)" + "Because . . . (purpose)."[148]

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[148]This method is suggested by Gracie Lyons, Constructive Criticism: A Handbook, published by the Issues in Radical Therapy Collective in 1976, as cited in Charlene Wheeler and Peggy Chinn,

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Personal/Institutional Change Groups.[149] Norma Gluckstern

understands the therapeutic process to include an examination of

both internal and external restraints upon the individual, and to

focus on personal and communal change. Her diagram of this

process is as follows:

Woman Joins Therapy Group
↓
Sees other women solving problems & making changes.
Considers new options for herself
↓
Has support of the group
↓
Defines goals for herself

Clarifies/defines
internal limitations
↓
Personal re-evaluation
and growth
|
↓
New lifestyle and
sense of self-worth ←——————→

Clarifies/defines
external limitations
↓
Challenges limitations
together with women
who have also
experienced them
↓
Change in social
institutions

As in the case of the Radical Psychiatry groups, the woman is

challenged to action. In Gluckstern's model, however, the action

is both personal and collective. It is for the benefit of self

and other. In the context of the church this is the embodiment

of "loving neighbor as oneself."

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Peace and Power: A Handbook of Feminist Process (Buffalo:
Margaretdaughters, 1984), 53.

[149]Norma Gluckstern, "Beyond Therapy: Personal and
Institutional Change," Psychotherapy for Women, eds. Edna
Rawlings and Dianne Carter (Springfield, Ill.: C. C. Thomas,
1977), 429-44.

Problem-Solving Groups.[150] Any topic of interest to a group

of women in a local church could be the focus of a time-limited

group, e.g., a group on child rearing. A pastor might lay the

ground work for such a group on the condition that there would be

a rotating co-leadership with members of the group. Recruitment

of members would be done through home-visit interviews by pastor

and a co-leader/participant. The group sessions would be made up

of two aspects: problems brought by the women and leader-

instigated devices to develop involvement including role-play,

word associations, use of visuals such as film or newsprint.

There would always be time to reflect on the feasibility of

collective action about any particular issue and referral to a

community action group.

Worker Discussion Groups.[151] An educative group which asks

workers to discuss the question "what is my position?" at work,

as a citizen, in the family, and at church. The aim is to

identify where and how one has power, and how to share and

develop ideas for utilizing it most effectively, as well as where

and how one does not have power, how that feels, and solutions

possible.

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[150]What is summarized here borrows some insights from the
experience of Paul Van Ness and Elizabeth Van Ness, "An
Experimental Church-Related Counseling Program for the Inner
City," Pastoral Psychology 20 (Nov., 1969): 15-20.

[151]Gerhard Klein, "Discussion Week for Workers: A Model for
Off-Plant Training Courses," International Review of Mission 65,
no. 256 (1976): 317-24.

The effective pastoral counselor will develop community action groups if they do not already exist. Involvement in groups which do not lead to action tends to reinforce passivity, whether these are support groups, consciousness raising groups, or educational groups. The working-class woman does not need passivity reinforced.

In sum, a decalogue of issues and processes that are relevant to working-class woman's counseling needs include the following:

1. Begin with a clear understanding of the goals of counseling and of the client. Reach agreement on what constitutes success for an individual working-class woman, and be willing to review that criterion periodically. See oneself as a change agent. When counseling the working-class woman be willing to serve in a variety of roles, including outreach worker, consultant, educator, and advocate.[152] Be willing to engage in self-disclosure without co-opting the counseling. To be known is to be trusted and to lay the groundwork for a more equal relationship.[153]

2. Understand the purpose and function of the class system,

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[152]Lee Hansen Sisson, "Psychotherapy in a Pluralistic Society: A Feminist Perspective," Women and Therapy 1 (1982): 47.

[153]Elaine J. Copeland, "Counseling Black Women with Negative Self-Concepts," Personnel and Guidance Journal 55 (1977): 400, notes the importance of counselor sharing with black women clients.

as well as the system of racial and ethnic discrimination,[154] so
that realistic responses rather than irrelevant platitudes might
be offered. Understand the importance of de-mystifying the
nature of the problem and its solution for the working-class
woman, that it will require a process of confronting the
contradictions in all of her life patterns and decisions, of
confronting the pain which life has brought. Know the language
of poverty and working-class existence as well as the network of
stressful relationships that it can bring about with unemployment
and perhaps even welfare, public schools which steer working-
class children toward vocational and technical schools rather
than college, the landlord or mortgage company who want payment
for housing with no excuses about plant closings. Be willing to
work _with_ these institutions with which some working-class
families must deal.

3. Affirm diversity of values and appreciate the values of
the working class as geared toward survival, and fostering an
admirable measure of interdependence and power. Working-class
women often learn emotional and financial self-care early in
life.[155] Among those who marry, affirm the value placed on

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[154]Copeland, "Counseling Black Women," 398, and Janet E.
Helms, "Black Women," _Counseling Psychologist_ 8, no. 1 (1979):
40, stress the importance of de-mystifying the myths of the Black
Matriarch and the Hot Mama, which are often internalized by and
currently conflicting black women.

[155]The special circumstances of the working-class woman are
noted by Warren Rachelle, _Helping Networks in the Urban
Community_, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations,
University of Michigan (March, 1975), who says that while
working-class men rely on their co-workers, middle-class men and

mothering and on support of working-class men in the midst of economic oppression. Be willing to be taught about the pain and dignity-seeking of working-class life. Whereas many middle-class women may be fearful of exposing their strength, many working-class women may be fearful of exposing their vulnerabilities.[156] Be attentive to all possible expressions of strength and weakness. In fact, often problems can be re-framed as a solution that has become exaggerated. Attempt to determine the style of the working-class woman -- her work style, her cognitive style, her interpersonal style. Healing includes an awareness of the particular life-goal and life-style of a working-class woman, how they operate, what they seek, and what they are protecting; an understanding of the ways present behavior is linked to past experience, assumptions, beliefs; a re-valuing of what she contributes to the social unit such as income, raising children, being a supportive wife, her abilities in organization, management, and decision-making; and a learning of further ways to express strength and vulnerability.[157] As Audre Lorde has

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women rely on professional agencies, and working-class and middle-class men rely on women, the working-class woman is left to rely on herself and her network of female friends and relatives.

[156]Jessica Heriot, "The Double Bind: Healing the Split," Women Changing Therapy: New Assessments, Values, and Strategies in Feminist Therapy, eds. Joan Robbins and Rachel J. Siegel (New York: Haworth, 1983), 14.

[157]Heriot, 24.

said, "Survival is the greatest gift of love. Sometimes . . . it is the only gift possible, and tenderness gets lost."[158]

4. Realize that the price paid by many poor and working-class persons for learning to survive was the sacrifice of their childhood.[159] The luxury of "playing at living" is not possible when survival is delicately marginal and serious business. Surviving is hard work, and demands examining others constantly. That often leaves little time for self-examination. Free-time either does not exist or must be earned.

5. Refuse to be neutral in an attempt to be fair. The dominant culture favors the status quo, so neutrality favors oppression. God sides with the poor and with the worker. This is powerful theological grounds for hope in the counseling process.

6. Focus on the importance of choices. Be realistic that not all choices are possible for working-class women, but there are often more than are recognized. Learned helplessness may have blinded her to many viable choices. Realize as well that some choices may seem like bitter ones. To focus on choices is to recognize the grounds for hope within the parishoner as well.

7. Engage in the primary focus of counseling, to re-educate for empowerment and interdependency in work, love, learning, community, and rest. This means identifying the final fiction and style of life one has chosen to cope with both the inevitable

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[158]Lorde, "Eye to Eye: Black Women, Hatred, and Anger," 150.

[159]Lorde, "Eye to Eye", 171.

experience of inferiority and powerlessness of being a child in an adult world, but also the internalized inferiority and powerlessness of sexism, racism, and classism. And it means choosing another style of life which promotes the possibility of power, equality, and development toward social interest. It means assuming legal, economic, social, political, physical, and personal power through new ideas, new alliances, and new structures.[160]

8. Accept the psychic need and economic importance for short-term counseling among the working class, willing to focus actively on problems of living. Additionally, motivation and success are often enhanced by time-limited counseling.[161] By starting the therapeutic process immediately, by allowing catharsis in the midst of history taking, the counseling process is telescoped and kept moving.[162]

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[160]For an elaboration on power in women's lives, though from a neo-Freudian perspective, see Jean Baker Miller, "Women and Power."

[161]Solving problems quickly is one mark of counselor effectiveness among the poor and working class according to J. Daniel. The value of treating the first visit as if it will be the last (and therefore providing some directive relief) among the poor and working class is noted by J. Yamamato and M. K. Goin, "On the Treatment of the Poor," American Journal of Psychiatry 122 (1965): 267-71. The necessity of short-term therapy is noted by N. F. Jones and M. W. Kahn, "Patient Attitudes as Related to Social Class and Other Variables Concerned With Hospitalization," Journal of Counseling Psychology 28 (1964): 403-08, and by W. Schmidt, R. G. Smart, and M. K. Moss, Social Class and the Treatment of Alcoholism (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968).

[162]Seymour M. Miller, Social Class and Social Policy, 169-70.

9. Because the pastor has the privilege of pastoral initiative and has conditional access to persons in their living situation, counseling is encouraged in the home or on the parishoner's own turf.[163] The pastor should always be sensitive to the work schedule of a working-class family, and make appointments that do not necessitate missing work, which for the working class usually means a cut in pay or being fired. Be similarly sensitive to child care needs, whether in terms of scheduling of counseling or advocacy for new educational or employment options.

10. Encourage feedback and evaluation of counseling style and process from working-class women. It can be empowering to know that one has information which could help someone else to learn, assuming the counselor's goal is learning rather than seeking praise.

With all that has been said about empowerment of the working class, it should be remembered that any involved pastoral counselor, who by education if not income benefits from class privilege, will have to suffer some loss, to give up stability, a sense of power, and a feeling of superiority, which is painful. As poignantly noted by Elaine Pinderhughes, benefactors of class privilege pay the price of guilt, unrealistic entitlement, a

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[163]The importance of home visits in the field of secular family therapy is noted by Ross Ford, Richard Norman, and Jeannette Merriweather (Baltimore Family Center), Combatting the Legacy of Failure, (Highland, Ind.: Creative Audio, 1986), cassette. Also Levine, "Treatment in the Homes," and Copeland, "Counseling Black Women," 399.

distorted world-view, rigid behavior, and intolerance.[164] But we are called to do more than merely accept and empathize with the poor and working class. We are called to compassion, to the active assistance of those who suffer by emptying ourselves of privilege and its trappings.[165] Would that we would be in solidarity with the oppressed and free ourselves as well.

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[164]Pinderhughes, 62.

[165]The distinction between "acceptance" and "compassion" is noted by Arthur Becker, "Compassion: A Foundation for Pastoral Care," Religion in Life 48, no. 2 (1979): 143-52. Caution against understanding and practicing compassion as the action a superior "does for" a subordinate or the exclusive function of women in family and society is powerfully noted in Margaret Adams, "The Compassion Trap," Woman in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness, eds. Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran (New York: New American Library/ Basic, 1971), 555-57.

CHAPTER 6

The Church, Pastoral Theology, and Working-Class Women

> . . . O lord make us instruments of your peace
> instruments of conflict not harmony
> instruments of truth not obfuscation
> instruments of happiness not stupefaction
> Let's see if that can't be done.
> —Dorothee Soelle[1]

This study has examined the experience of working-class women in the context of the capitalist class realities of production and reproduction which conflict her life, the nature and meaning of her psychological and moral development in that same context, and the task of pastoral care and counseling as solidarity and advocacy in light of those realities. Because theology is always done for the sake of community, to aid its life and decision-making,[2] what are the church and its theology called to be as a result of these awarenesses?

A number of sociology of religion studies have documented that middle-class persons are more likely than working-class persons to be members of or at least to attend churches, while working-class persons are more likely to report religious or mystical experiences, to do private devotions, and to consider

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[1]Dorothee Soelle, "The long march: many have known all along," Revolutionary Patience, trans. Rita Kimber and Robert Kimber (1969; reprint, Maryknoll: Orbis, 1977), 57.

[2]This purpose of theology is noted by Robert J. Schreiter, Constructing Local Theologies (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1985), 24.

the church a primary community if they do attend.[3] When middle-

class persons attend church, it is likely to be a mainline

Protestant denomination, and when working-class persons attend

church it is more likely to be either the Roman Catholic or sect-

type Protestant churches.[4] Nicholas Demerath suggests that

because of the nature of social roles, middle-class persons

prefer religious life which is verbal, cognitive, reflective, and

organized while lower-class persons prefer religious life which

is more physical, emotional, actional, and spontaneous.[5] Of

course, neither verbalization nor action alone is revolutionary,

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[3]C. Daniel Batson and W. Larry Ventis, The Religious
Experience: A Psycho-Social Perspective (New York: Oxford
University Press, 1982), 42. Robert J. Grosch, "Ministry in the
Blue-Collar World: A Beginning Approach," Currents in Theology
and Mission 5, no. 4 (1978), 240. Rodney Stark, "The Economics
of Piety: Religious Commitment and Social Class," Issues in
Social Inequality, eds. Gerald W. Thielbar and Saul D. Feldman
(Boston: Little Brown, 1972), 484. Glenn M. Vernon, "Religion
and the Blue-Collarite," Blue Collar World, eds. Arthur B.
Shostak and William Gomberg (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall,
1964), 320.

[4]Because of this denominational division, it is contended
that denomination is actually a much more powerful variable than
social class in relation to religious behavior, according to
Rodney Stark, 501.

[5]Nicholas J. Demerath, Social Class in American
Protestantism (Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1965) and "Religion and
Social Class in America," Sociology of Religion, ed. R. Robertson
(Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967). Of course, Demerath's
observation is not true of all working-class people, especially
the upwardly mobile, and as one working-class woman in the Kansas
City study explained, she didn't "want any shoutin' at church
because [she heard] quite enough of it at home."
   Glenn Vernon suggests that Jews and white Protestants
identify themselves with individualism, competition, and action
toward success, while Catholics and "Negro" Protestants are more
often associated with collectivistic, security-oriented, working-
class patterns of thought (p.320).

although within a dialectical relationship they can become praxis aimed at liberative change.[6]

Major Protestant denominations complain that membership is dwindling, yet the working class, including the working poor, constitutes at least half of this country's population. The church is not reaching these people, is not speaking their language. Either this is due to fear or ignorance of their needs and how these might most effectively be met, or it is due to fear or ignorance of the gospel mandate to participate in the struggle toward a New Creation. In either case the church must educate itself and act soon.

Working-class people live in a world in which power, dignity, inclusion, and security elude them because they are not in charge, and bourgeois ideology suggests to them that they do not deserve to have any more control, respect, belonging, or money and property than they can earn. The idols of capitalism seduce all of us to dominate, to have, to be unblemished, and to feel no pain, and create the mystique that we will therein be OK, that we will know peace and be saved. In their seductiveness these idols become powerfully addictive. Yet, among the poor and working class, these addictions become hungers with no means of satisfaction. The stress and pressure of addiction, coupled with lack of available resources inevitably lead to destruction -- either the violence of self-destructiveness or destruction of

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[6]Such is the contention of Paulo Freire's action-reflection model of education and social change, as cited in Osthathios, 124.

others. This is clearest perhaps in the current decimation of the American Black community from crack cocaine and IV drug use AIDS. Beneath this violence is the untold suffering and pain of broken promises and broken dreams, of dignity stripped, productivity stifled, passion run amok, minds wasted, and communities fractured. But there is also beneath this violence tremendous human energy. How is the church to participate in redirecting these energies toward the common goal of justice and freedom in the midst of these poor and working-class realities?

Given the working-class experience of domination and exploitation, the church is called not only to be in ministry to individuals, families, and small groups, but to be a committed and liberating community of a particular kind. Because of the working-class experience that we are all involved in each other's survival, the church is called first of all to be a community of overcoming in the world. It is to name, confront, and overcome all that is destructive and opposed to creation -- individualism, privatization of pain and promise, domination, indignity, consumerism, poverty, and death -- in society, in the workplace, and in the family -- which becomes internalized in the self. It is to name, confront, and overcome the principalities and the powers which victimize.

This overcoming occurs hopefully with as much collaborative dialogue appealing to conscience as possible, and failing that, as much confrontation in the form of economic sanctions and political resistance as needed. Only then should direct violence

be entertained, and then with as little violence as possible.[7]
It is a myth, however, that non-violence exists. According to
Osthathios, "the alternative is not between violence and non-
violence, but between greater and lesser violence, structural and
special violence, hidden and manifest violence."[8] Conflict and
violence exist in the structure of capitalist and patriarchal
material reality. To resist and overcome is to reveal that
conflict and violence that it may be transformed.

As recently as the 1970s it was being suggested that
encouraging an ethnic or minority client to fight the system
could be overwhelming and that a counselor should work to help
that person to adjust in spite of her minority status.[9]
Certainly there are those who, because they are in the midst of
crisis or because they have minimal ego strength, are temporarily
in this category. However, pastoral care for adjustment is a
form of paternalistic protection -- it "protects" the parishoner
from the system's benefits and the system from the parishoner's
anger. And encouraging individualistic self-responsibility is
naive, burdensome, and damaging. Encouraging collective

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[7]Leas and Kittlaus, 12.

[8]Osthathios, 53.

[9]Clemmont E. Vontress, "Counseling the Racial and Ethnic
Minorities," Counseling: Directions in Theory and Practice, ed.
Gary S. Belkin (Dubuque, Iowa.: Kendall-Hunt, 1976), 289.

empowerment toward action against an unjust system is empowering, however.[10]

The American, Christian working-class woman engages in such activity not only because she believes in the equal worth of all, which democratic principles claim to guarantee, but also because of God's special love for the powerless.[11] She is not likely to rely on Christus Victor, the Christ who confronts and is victorious over evil,[12] for neither she nor the middle-class woman understand overcoming as "winning." She is likely to rely on a God who has told the truth in the past, suffers with her in the present, and holds the promise and power to transform the world, not that the lamb should kill the lion but that the lion will lie down with the lamb one day, that the kin-dom of God will include everyone.

In resisting the destructive powers in the world, a community suffers, its strength is sapped, and it is always in danger of losing heart (cf. Eph. 3:10-13). And so it is not enough to resist. The necessity of resistance and of something more, is recognized by the rural poor in Appalachia who claim

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[10]Michael Fox et al., Family Therapy of the Poor (Highland, Ind.: Creative Audio, 1986), cassette.

[11]Loren Halvorson, "The Power of the Powerless," Dialog 13, no. 3 (1974): 195-200.

[12]Reta Halteman Finger, "Your Daughters Shall Prophesy: A Christian Feminist Critiques Feminist Theology," The Other Side 24, no. 8 (1988): 41, finds this Christological emphasis especially in Patricia Wilson-Kastner, Faith, Feminism, and the Christ (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983). Victory is no longer merely over the personal demons as in the Middle Ages, however, but now over the socio-political demons of oppressive structures.

that "God may be on our side, but we're going to have to fight for ourselves; and the reason we pray to Him [sic] is to get the strength to fight."[13] A community will die if its sole basis is resistance to common oppression, for such a community lives with no self-transcendent purpose.[14] The dialectical nature of material reality, not only of individual life but also of community life, demands that the point of resistance move into its counterpoint. It demands that six days of work be followed on the seventh day by a cessation of work, from which the working-class woman is nearly always tired. The working-class church is called to be a community of resistance and overcoming, but it is also called to be a community of rest. And this community of/at rest can be characterized by three primary movements: conscientization, thanksgiving/praise, confession.

First, conscientization is learning about the nature and consequences of dominating and exploitative power as these are embodied in the shaping of individual and communal personalities and in the lived experience of oppression.[15] These may be

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[13]Robert Coles, "God and the Rural Poor," Psychology Today, Jan. 1972: 36.

[14]Janice Raymond believes similarly that a women's community which is merely a sisterhood of the oppressed creates nothing beyond itself (p.190).

[15]These stages reveal indebtedness to Beverly Harrison's "stages of liberation" in "Theological Reflection in the Struggle for Liberation," 249-57, to Carter Heyward and the Amanecida Collective, Revolutionary Forgiveness: Feminist Reflections on Nicaragua (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1987), 101-104, and to Vladimir S. Borichevsky, "A Pastoral Perspective on Sin and the Sacrament of Confession," St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly 21, no.4 (1977): 215.

experienced first as the private pain or anger of indignity and marginalization. Rest in this sense means relief, the deliverance of "my soul from death, my eyes from tears, my feet from stumbling" (Ps. 116:7-8) for all those who "labor and are heavy laden" (Matt. 11:28). In rest "you will forget your misery . . . and you will have confidence, because there is hope; you will be protected, and take your rest in safety. You will lie down, and none will make you afraid" (Job 11:16,18-19a).

But the pain, tears, stumbling, and fear resulting from resistance in the world also must be linked to their source. Church among the working class should provide rest from one's "enemies" (Deut. 12:10, 25:19) and rest from "fighting without and fear within" (2 Cor. 7:5), which are understood to have their roots in socioeconomic dis-ease and to find their context in the historical narrative of personal and communal oppression. It means discovering that the problem is bigger than oneself and identifying the true nature of enemy activity, in the home, in the workplace, in society, and in the world.

Second, rest also means discovering, naming, and giving thanks for a community's strengths and resources, including a remembrance of power and privilege resisted previously, a celebration of overcoming, and gratitude for aid. It means thereby, the affirmation of a community's guiding commitments and its means of accountability. Rest is a return to the bounty of God (Ps. 116:7), which "in quietness and in trust [gives] strength" (Isa.30:15) and invites the people of God to "live in

safety" (Deut. 12:10). In the words of Robert Coles, reflecting on God and the rural poor in Appalachia, "Sunday is the only day that counts, 'cause when God calls you to be with Him [sic] everything is going to be all right."[16]

To rest in the bounty of God is also a refuge for the lost, to have available the time-tested wisdom of the way to justice and peace when one has gone astray in search of reasons for and answers to one's suffering, in search of strength and power for the fight, in search of moral guidance when confused. For "thus says the Lord: 'Stand by the roads and look, and ask for the ancient paths, where the good way is; and walk in it, and find rest for your souls'" (Jer. 6:16).[17] To rest is both to remember and to experience that the people are called to be in the world but not of the world (John. 18:36-37). People of the Christian faith find their guidance not in the world's ideology of dominance and exploitation, nor even doing battle with that oppression, but in the God who shows them a better way, a moral God with a moral purpose as attested throughout the history of the church in Scripture.[18]

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[16]Coles, "God and the Rural Poor," 33.

[17]Tradition contributes three things to community: 1) resources for identity, 2) a communication system providing cohesion and continuity in community, and 3) resources for incorporating innovative aspects into a community, according to Schreiter, 105.

[18]The primary moral problem in the Gospels is the rich and the poor, according to Schreiter, 34f. If one considers the whole of Scripture, the conflict of rich and poor is second only to the problem of idolatry, according to Jim Wallis, "Let Justice Roll," Broadway United Methodist Church, Indianapolis, Ind., 8

Third and finally, rest means confession of pain but also
individual and communal self-evaluation, which leads to
confession of need and confession of missing the mark in the form
of relations which violate mutuality, vulnerability, and
inclusivity. It is self-examination as individuals and as a
community in the context of prayer which clarifies the weeping
and participates in the de-construction that must always precede
a new creation. It is to experience the safety to be honest
about oneself with others, for a turning from hardness of heart
and for admission of need:

> So then, there remains a sabbath rest for the people of
> God; for whoever enters God's rest also ceases from her
> labors as God did from God's labors. Let us therefore
> strive to enter that rest, that no one fall by the same
> sort of disobedience. For the word of God is living
> and active, sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing
> to the division of soul and spirit, of joints and
> marrow, and discerning the thoughts and intentions of
> the heart. And before God no creature is hidden, but
> all are open and laid bare to the eyes of God with whom
> we have to do. . . . Let us then with confidence draw
> near to the throne of grace, that we may receive mercy
> and find grace to help in time of need. (Heb. 4:9-
> 13,16)

The victims and the oppressed are not free of wrong-doing or
responsibility and must retain the capacity for self-criticism,
as Rosemary Ruether has suggested.[19] To rest in God is to be
reordered in one's priorities so that one is restored in faith

Nov. 1989.

[19]Rosemary Ruether, _Liberation Theology: Human Hope
Confronts History and American Power_ (New York: Paulist, 1972),
13. A similar observation from a philosophical perspective is
made by Janice Raymond, 187, with the admonition that black men
are still responsible for raping black women.

and renewed in spirit for ongoing resistance to and overcoming of
the principalities and powers. What happens among the rural poor
in Appalachia in church besides worshipping is that

> standards come to mind, comparisons are made with what
> was and what might be, things fall in place, a sense of
> sequence emerges, there is a coherence sought and
> found, and there is the reassurance that somewhere one
> is being noticed and somehow one does matter after
> all.[20]

It is recovering one's sense of dignity and thereby finding the
courage to face and give up the demons of powerlessness and fear,
of self-hatred and destructiveness for creativity and mutuality,
for freedom and communion in God. It is to know the meaning of
humility because one finds rootedness in the material reality of
one's earthiness while aspiring to the Kin-dom of God which
includes all. Any community's knowledge or vision of that Kin-
dom is only partial and approximate, however, and may miss the
mark more or less.

Rest ends with repentence, which is also a re-turning to
renewed resistance to and overcoming of the ideology and practice
of domination and exploitation. It is also a re-turning to
renewed efforts at construction of a just and inclusive community
through the creation of new options for action toward a kin-dom
in which no one is the expert, there is no hierarchy of roles,
and the whole is ever-creatively changing because overcoming is
on-going. It is being captured by a vision of the future which
is neither middle-class autonomy or working-class conformity, but

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[20]Coles, "God and the Rural Poor," 34.

is co-creative collaboration and cooperation.[21] It means
incorporating and standing in solidarity with victims who are
surviving and engaged in the work of overcoming relationships of
dominance-submission wherever they are found in their homes,
workplace, community, church, world and in their own souls. It
means offering intercession and advocacy, or siding with the
victims of domination and exploitation,[22] for faith is always a
matter of doing rather than merely believing.

The dialectic of overcoming and rest is similar to the
movement between taking and letting go. As Marie Augusta Neal
has suggested, "the gospel mandates that the poor <u>take</u> what is
theirs, a right to possession mandated in Lev. 25:1-10, 25-28."[23]
The poor are granted equal worth and an equal share by God. When
the scales become imbalanced, sabbatical years (Deut. 15:2) and

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[21]A self-critical community is suggested by Archie Smith,
Jr., <u>The Relational Self: Ethics and Therapy From a Black Church
Perspective</u> (Nashville: Abingdon, 1982), 111 and 222, and a
"competent" community is sought by Theodore Vallance, "Social
Science and Social Policy: Amoral Methodology in a Matrix of
Values," <u>American Psychologist</u> 27 (1972), 16, through processes
that might be conflated into these steps: 1) Clarify awareness of
problems, and the physical and historical context in which they
occur. 2) Detail problems by their seriousness and the number of
people affectd. 3) Envision possible improvements. 4) Develop
or choose problem-solving approaches. 5) Identify community
resources available. 6) Identify community resources needed,
which are also acceptable. 7) Implement and evaluate. 8) Teach
the community member to use and extend their results, to enlarge
their capacity for creative change and meaningful participation
in the whole.

[22]Georges Casalis, "Torture and Prayer," <u>International
Review of Mission</u> 66 (1977): 240-43.

[23]Marie Augusta Neal, <u>A Sociotheology of Letting Go: The
Role of First World Churches Facing Third World Peoples</u> (New
York: Paulist, 1977), 105.

the year of jubilee (Lev. 25) are intended to set things right. After a time, the oppressed weary of resisting and fighting, and they must find renewal. They must find pause in the resistance and regain their centeredness in the source and purpose of their resistance, the Holy One, who pardons past failings, empowers for the present struggle, and promises a future mutuality in community called the kin-dom of God. Only at the close of history as we know it when the kin-dom comes, will the dialectic of overcoming cease. Then rest will be everlasting.

The importance of the oppressed taking what is theirs is re-enacted in the liberative activity which serves as a bridge between rest and resistance, between confession and repentence -- the re-memberance known as communion. At the last supper of Jesus with his disciples and in our breaking bread together, we hear the words, "Take, eat; this is my body. . . . Drink, all of you" (Matt. 26:26). We are not told to "receive" but to "take" what God has already given us. And we are to take it that we may participate actively and mutually in "the forgiveness of sins" (Matt. 26:28). Forgiveness is not something that God bestows on us which we passively receive. To take the forgiveness which is ours is at the same time to relinquish everything in which we participate that blocks a mutual and inclusive kin-dom of God, including the withholding of forgiveness of others.

To participate in the forgiveness of sins, one must know and name one's sins. One must "re-member the dismembered," according

to the Amanecida Collective.[24] The sins of the rich (greed, hoarding of goods meant for everyone, domination, exploitation) and the sins of the poor (fear, jealousy, envy, and consent to powerlessness in the face of oppression) become known through self-examination and named in confession. The community must then relinquish and let them go, placing them and what they made of us as sacrifices on the altar of God.[25] This will cause us pain, but we can rest in the assurance that the God who participates with us in forgiveness also knows the pain of brokenness.

But shared pain is not the final word. The shared suffering which often means the broken bodies and shed blood of the poor and working class and the reality of our mis-directed individual and communal lives is also the mutual sharing in the dying of Jesus the Christ. Yet that sacrifice was unique and should not happen again. So in the midst of the sharing the transformation begins, and what was a participation in death becomes nourishment for new life. The suffering provides the seed for new growth. We take the bread of sustenance and the cup of life, and in so doing we know and believe that God in Christ is present already

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[24]Amanecida Collective, 101.

[25]This is quite different than seeing the elements of communion as sacrifices themselves, which is nowhere to be found in the New Testament, and is first identified in the 2nd c. document Didache 14:1-3, according to Nancy Jay, "Sacrifice as Remedy for Having Been Born of Woman," Immaculate and Powerful: The Female in Sacred Image and Social Reality, eds. Clarissa W. Atkinson, Constance Buchanan, and Margaret Miles (Boston: Beacon, 1985), 300-01.

fighting for justice.[26] Through our participation in the sharing of the bread and wine, we participate in the renewal of spirit which creates us anew for re-entering the world. We come to know and believe anew that we are of God though we are in the world. We know and believe that we can find rest in the bounty of God in order to repent, or to become the church struggling for justice in the world once again. We become empowered by a mediated power from God.[27]

Christian education, worship, and pastoral counseling, therefore, do not begin in the sanctuary or in the church, but in the world as overcoming. They begin first of all, as the communal activity of creative overcoming in the midst of suffering which aims at transformation.[28] Christian education, worship, and pastoral counseling are not something the church does to prepare people to be change-agents in the world, but they begin precisely with that resisting, overcoming, and healing activity, which finds rest in the bounty of God, emerging from, reflecting on, and preparing for the moral activity of overcoming inequality and exclusion in the world. Christian education,

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[26]The insight that God's fight for justice precedes our own and that we simply join that fight limits our chances of idolizing our own struggle, according to Frederick Herzog, "God-Walk and Class Struggle," Circuit Rider 9, no. 6 (June 1985): 4-6.

[27]The importance of divine power as mediated rather than direct is common among the oppressed, according to Robert Schreiters, 139.

[28]Rubem Alves, "Personal Wholeness and Political Creativity: The Theology of Liberation and Pastoral Care," Pastoral Psychology 26, no. 2 (1977): 124-36.

worship, and pastoral counseling involve being moved, stirred,
aroused to full power communally and individually through sharing
in the common life, participation in a common world. These
functions of ministry strengthen through kin-ship for meeting
one's enemies that the world may be made new. Christian
education, worship, and pastoral counseling pursue peace through
empowerment.[29] They pursue inclusivity through right relation of
all creation to God.

Christian education, worship, and pastoral counseling among
the working class must end the obsession with verbalizing ideas
to individuals who observe and listen, and begin to engage in
participatory ritual events of a sensual and communal nature,[30]
for ritual creates an experience of moral equality.[31] The
working class need to participate in ministry. In education they

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[29]John Westerhoff, Tomorrow's Church (Waco, Texas: Word
Publishers, 1976), 95-96, believes the responsible use of power
includes: 1) Avoid blaming the victim. Always see oneself as
part of the problem. 2) Permanent change is slow and gradual.
It requires time to gain acceptance. 3) Do not fall in love with
your solutions. Each answer is only partial when the problems
are complex. 4) See problems through the eyes of the oppressed.
Do with rather than for. 5) Focus on creating good rather than
eliminating evil. This means keeping the vision rather than the
problem as one's guide. 6) Use existing groups where possible,
which demands less group building time and provides greater
assurance of a common need being met. 7) Think innovation. 8)
Love the enemy. Do not use violence. 9) Withdraw at times to
gain perspective. 10) Struggle daily with the Word of God.

[30]Horace T. Allen, Jr., "Is There An Emerging Ecumenical
Concensus Concerning the Liturgy?" Union Seminary Quarterly
Review 31, no. 3 (1976): 157.

[31]This is the view of Harry G. Lefever, "The Religion of the
Poor: Escape or Creative Force?" Journal for the Scientific Study
of Religion 16, no. 3 (1977): 230.

need to discuss life's naked realities of home, workplace, and community, seeking through dialogue with Scripture one's right relation to the moral life in community. In worship they need to kneel for prayer, give the handshake of peace, bring up the offering or the bread and juice, take communion, lead prayers, and read Scripture as they participate in being the community of God.[32] In counseling they need to engage in cooperative dialogue aiming toward overcoming and empowerment toward sociality.

They must end their fear of silence, for in silence one reflects and sees things as a whole, which is the fullness of rest.[33] The Catholic and Protestant sect emphasis on the inclusiveness of community, sacramental action, an incarnational faith which touches the emotions and informs a lived morality meets the needs of the working class more than does the sermon expounding the Father God's word, concern with right belief, and a spiritualized faith for individuals.[34] It reveals the truth in the migrant farmhand's reflection on a middle-class minister:

> He says he wants to help us, but he doesn't really want to see the world as we do. Maybe he should do us a favor and hear us for a change, and then go back to his

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[32]These suggestions for working-class worship are noted in David G. Kibble, "The Protestant Liturgy and the Working Classes," Liturgical Review 6, no. 1 (1976): 39.

[33]Franklin Baumer, Religion and the Rise of Skepticism (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, 1960), 238-40.

[34]Heije Faber, "Psychological Sidelight Upon the Liturgy," Studia Liturgica 12, no. 1 (1977): 39. Similarly, three characteristics of the working class (group mentality, sensate focus, and preference for the concrete) are noted by J. Benington, Culture, Class, and Christian Beliefs (London: Scripture Union, 1973).

side of the fence and ask himself if the people over there have anything more important to say.[35]

Pastoral care among the working class, therefore, is not the work of maintaining, disciplining, and sustaining a community which is interrupted at various points by crises of a personal or social nature.[36] Rather liberative pastoral care assumes that conflict is more normative than equilibrium, that to be oppressed is to live in the midst of struggle. Pastoral care among the working class does not begin by presuming or advocating a unified tradition, order, or structure. It begins for the excluded ones by recognizing the differences constituting the insanity, pain, and rage of oppression, by naming and facing the personal and communal enemy activity, and resisting those forces with the aim of overcoming both societal and internalized domination and exploitation.

Liberation or overcoming as a method of pastoral care does not reduce all psychological problems to economic or social ones, nor seek to blame the system for all personal ills. Rather it explores the relationship between society and personality, between individualistic and socio-genic mental health and illness, between salvation as an individual and a communal

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[35]Coles, "God and the Rural Poor," 40.

[36]Such is the view of Browning, The Moral Context of Pastoral Care, 20. Following Victor Turner, 94-107, Browning suggests that the dialectic of structure and communitas (tradition and reform, order and freedom) describes the nature of a living Christian community (p. 34). This analysis is clearly from a bourgeois perspective, however, for one must be a part of the structure to find reform freeing.

reality.[37] It seeks neither system-blame nor self-blame for its own sake, but rather the kind of criticism of system-community-self relationship which can light the way toward the goal of overcoming. The norm for pastoral care is not to sustain but to overcome through resistance, which is relieved, encouraged, and strengthened by rest. Pastoral care which addresses the moral need for an end to oppression, takes seriously that the gospel is about change.

Because the oppressed have little individual power, their power is most importantly collective. This is true for political reasons but for theological ones as well. While clarification of the dialectic in Hegel began with individual consciousness, the dialectic is also a communal dynamic revealed theologically in the fact that soteriology is communal participation in redemptive, saving work through which the individual also experiences salvation.[38] The sociality of the Trinity as Father-Son-Holy Spirit or as Creator-Redeemer-Sustainer points toward the relational nature of God as mutual love and the communal nature of the saving event.[39] According to Eastern Orthodox

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[37]Lee Cormie, "Middle Class Spiritualities," The Challenge of Psychology to Faith, eds. Steven Kepnes and David Tracy (New York: Seabury, 1982), 66.

[38]This communal understanding of the dialectic is elaborated by Norbert Schiffers, 103.

[39]Osthathios, 11-12, finds this view of the Trinity first espoused in the 8th c. by John of Damascus as "perichoresis." Unlike the Eastern church, Western Christianity has traditionally understood the Son and Holy Spirit to proceed from the Father (filoque), and thus rarely speaks specifically of the persons of the Trinity as co-equal. For recent explications of the

theologian Osthathios, "Perfection lies neither in the individual or society but in the sociality of the individual and the solidarity of society."[40]

The goal and destiny of creation toward the sociality known as the kin-dom of God is of a particular kind. Therein are all hierarchical relationships abolished for relationships of mutuality. Therein are individualism, competition, and the balancing of self-interests abandoned for the building of cooperative community inclusive of all. This entails the sacrifice/relinquishment of dominating power and privilege as well as the claiming of humility by any who oppress, because such actions move in the direction of overcoming inequality and individualism as well as enhancing mutuality and inclusiveness. This entails the sacrifice/relinquishment of submissive powerlessness and self-deprecation as well as the claiming of dignity, freedom, and life by any who are oppressed, because such actions move in the direction of overcoming inequality and individualism as well as enhancing mutuality and inclusiveness.

All love entails sacrifice to approximate more closely the interdependence called mutuality and inclusiveness.[41] To love

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sociality of the Trinity, however, see also Jurgen Moltmann, The Trinity and the Kingdom (New York: Harper, 1981); Leonardo Boff, Trinity and Society (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1988); and Wilson-Kastner.

[40]Osthathios, 94.

[41]Especially helpful on a feminist understanding of the relationship between sacrifice and love is Christine E. Gudorf, "Parenting, Mutual Love, and Sacrifice," Women's Consciousness, Women's Conscience: A Reader in Feminist Ethics, eds. Barbara H.

more mutually is to be mutually willing to be vulnerable to both tenderness and conflict toward the aim of right relation called inclusive mutuality. Sacrifice is a dialectical process of uniting with the good and separating oneself from evil personally and communally.[42]

The upper-class and middle-class oppressor does not need a Theology of Liberation so much as a Theology of Letting Go or a Theology of Relinquishment, which calls less for private acts of giving and more for a public policy of re-distribution, according to Marie Augusta Neal.[43] Such a theology encourages the oppressor to give up reasonableness and intelligibility as means of control, in favor of the communal need for trustworthiness and credibility. The answer to Rosemary Ruether's question of whether or not a "male savior can save women," is affirmative insofar as Jesus exemplifies the male who gives up power, prestige, privilege, and life itself for the liberation of the poor for mutuality in the whole human community.[44] Would that

Andolsen, Christine E. Gudorf, and Mary D. Pellauer (Minneapolis: Winston, 1985), 181.

[42]Nancy Jay suggests that expiatory sacrifice and communion provide these separating and uniting functions, although expiatory sacrifice has almost exclusively been controlled by males, confirming patrilineal, including priestly, authority.

[43]Marie Augusta Neal, 2. For the liberative importance of letting go and coming apart by upper-class women, see Susanna J. Sturgis, "Class/Act: Beginning a Translation from Privilege," Women: A Journal of Liberation 8, no. 3 (1983): 23.

[44]Rosemary Ruether, Sexism and God-Talk: Toward A Feminist Theology (Boston: Beacon, 1983). This is in contrast to the view of Marjorie Suchocki, who suggests that since illegitimate sons were the most lowly in Jewish society, "the incarnation embraces

members of the oppressing economic class might relinquish similarly. It would change the world.

Of course, the dialectic of "take and let go" is not the same as the bourgeois dialectics of "give and take" or "give and receive" which remain under the oppressor's control. In the case of "give and take" the oppressor gives the oppressed as much as he chooses whenever he chooses. As suggested by the Amanecida Collective, he may give food, shelter, health care, pleasure, and forgiveness.[45] He also takes back what and when he chooses. In fact, the oppressed are those to whom little is given and from whom much is taken. In the case of "give and receive" the oppressed are left to receive only that which is given, which nearly always is neither enough nor what is due them.

The church engages in pastoral care to the degree that it engages in the moral enterprise of development and empowerment toward mutuality in community. This is to participate in fulfilling the needs to learn, to work, to love, to build community, and to rest. These needs are life-long and they are individual as well as communal needs. The call is to resist any form of learning, work, love, community, and rest which violates the right relation of justice and mutuality centered in God. Such violation occurs if any are excluded from, if dominance-submission exists within, if meaninglessness is characteristic

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the whole of humanity and renders our caste system meaningless," in God-Christ-Church: A Practical Guide to Process Theology (New York: Crossroad, 1984), 219.

[45]Amanecida Collective, 91.

of, if the sociality of the individual or the solidarity of society or centeredness in God are diminished by any activity related to those needs. Any of these violations can result literally in de-moralization and so are at the heart of personal and communal development as a moral enterprise. By these criteria individualism, competition, self-interest, self-sacrifice, and addiction must be resisted at every turn.

Learning as a developmental need is a moral enterprise to the degree that violations of right relation which characterize it must be resisted and overcome. Learning, therefore must be collaborative and actively construct ever new vistas of meaning related to how one can be faithful to a past heritage and a current struggle for a future kin-dom of God.

Work as a developmental need is a moral enterprise to the degree that violations of right relation which characterize it must be resisted and overcome. Work at its best fulfills and is a channel for the creativity of every individual, but also is a way of collaborating with others and benefits all. Raines and Day-Lower suggest that human work is "the preservation and enhancement of shared skills,"[46] and is therefore both social and historical in its significance. The heart of the problem of work is a moral rather than a technical one because the de-skilling, routinization, and profit-focused nature of work under capitalism violates right relation.

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[46]Raines and Day-Lower, 20.

Love as a developmental need is a moral enterprise to the degree that violations of right relation which characterize it must be resisted and overcome. Love is the ability to engage mutually and vulnerably in tenderness and conflict, overcoming oppression and building relationships anew. The working-class woman who meets inequality, and perhaps even abuse and overt violence not only in the workplace but also in the home, is torn by the desire for a just and equal relationship with spouse, but a mistrust of the powers of law enforcement to set things right and a fear of whether or not one could survive economically even if she were to become physically safe. The church at least is responsible for the safety and survival of women, that relationships of love may become truly cooperative. The church is called to be sanctuary to the oppressed.

Building community as a developmental need is a moral enterprise to the degree that violations of right relation which characterize it must be resisted and overcome. Feminist visions of a new community which do not address economic inequalities of entire classes of people and socialist visions of a new community which do not address patriarchal domination miss the mark of the kind of community which is everlasting, the kind of community which enhances the cooperative power while impeding dominating power of individuals, families, and groups.

Rest as a developmental need is a moral enterprise to the degree that violations of right relation which characterize it must be resisted and overcome. Rest is not merely relaxation and

getting away from it all. This only serves to quiet an appropriate unrest toward injustice. It is not finding centeredness in pleasure or in consumer goods, for this is numbing idolatry. Rest is rather that process of regaining perspective on the totality of life as resistance to injustice and co-creating a world worth living in tomorrow.

To engage in the learning, work, love, community, and rest that leads to our development is to overcome dominance for dignity, to overcome mere survival for life in its fullness, and to overcome privacy and individualism for community which is everlasting. Such is our call. Such is God's promise.

APPENDIX

Questionnaire

Date_____

LIFE REVIEW
1. Name

2. Date of birth   Age

3. Place of birth   Urban, suburban, rural

4. Siblings: Sex and age

5. Education & Occupation of parent or provider
   a. Mo ( )   b. Fa ( )

6. Occupation of grandparents
   a. M-GMo   c. P-GMo

   b. M-GFa   d. P-GFa

7. Your own occupation

8. Marital status

9. Children

10. Education

11. Ethnic/racial identification

12. Religious identification

13. Self-identified SES: working, middle, lower, upper
    a. Fam. of Origin   b. Current

14. Divide life into chapters: major segments & turning points

15. How did you feel about each segment and each turning point?

16. Is there a theme or direction to how you've seen your life go
    until now?

17. As a child:
    a. What is your earliest memory of childhood?

    b. How did decisions get made when you were a child?
       -whether mother worked
       -money spent on food, clothes

-money spent on liesure
-discipline of children

c. Do you remember having any dreams/goals as a child?

d. Do you remember having any worries as a child?

e. What were your parents hopes for you?
for education _____ for work _____

f. Did you go to kindergarten?

g. What is your earliest memory of no longer feeling like a child?

18. As an adolescent:
a. What was your understanding of what it meant to be a woman?

b. Where did you get those ideas?

c. As you grew up at home what were you taught or what did you observe about:
-women who work
-what made for a good marriage
-family
-what made for a good friend
-money
-what it takes to survive
-what it took to be a good girl
-how one decided between right and wrong
-if and how you should achieve something
-getting an education
-being old

19. When and how did you come to leave home?

20. When and how did you come to marry (or not marry?)

21. Have you been divorced? _____ How did you decide to do this?

22. When and how did you decide to have children (or not)

23. When and how did you decide to go to work?

What are some good reasons for you to work?

For you not to work?

In your own work how much room do you have to take-make-do
initiative   //   decisions   //   supervision

What would you like to be different about your work?

If you could do/be anything, what would it be?

24. How did you decide to (or not to) be involved in the life of your neighborhood?

25. What do you hope and expect life to be like for you when you are old?

26. How old do you want to live to be?

LIFE-SHAPING EXPERIENCES

27. Have you experienced losses, crises, or suffering that have changed or influenced your life in special ways?

28. What were the taboos in your early life?
    How have you lived with those taboos?
    Can you indicate how the taboos in your life have changed?

29. What important tasks remain in your life?

PRESENT VALUES AND COMMITMENTS

30. Can you describe the beliefs and values or attitudes that are most important in guiding your own life?

31. Can you give specific examples of how and when these value have had effect? (e.g., times of risk, decision, commitment)

32. Think of an important decision or choice you made in the last three years. How did you go about deciding?

    a. What was hard/important about it?

    b. Who all was affected?

    c. How did you resolve it?

    d. What would have been your decision in your other life chapters about this same issue?

33. Sometimes women have decisions to make that men do not. Can you tell me how you would go about deciding what to do if you or someone important to you was being:

    sexually harrassed in the neighborhood or at work?

    battered, raped, or a victim of incest?

pregnant & not wanting to be?

34. How do you react when conflicts come up at home? work?
    with friends?

35. Are there some beliefs or values that all or most people
    ought to hold or act on?

36. How would you finish these sentences?
    The biggest dilemma in the world today is

    The solution to this is

37. What would you do if you were given a million dollars right
    now?

38. What would you do if you found out you only had 4-6 weeks to
    live?

    Of what would you be proudest?

39. Tell me what these mean to you now:
    a. hard work
    b. what it takes to survive
    c. a good mate
    d. a good child
    e. a good parent
    f. to relax
    g. education
    h. to achieve something
    i. to be honest/when & to whom lying is OK
    j. to be obedient/when & toward whom disobedience is OK
    k. money
          to make it
          to spend it
          to save it
          to borrow it
    l. how life is w/ plans or goals, & w/o plans or goals
    m. what makes for success or failure
    n. what makes for happiness or unhappiness
    o. how could you tell a good church from a bad church
    p. to be a good friend
    q. to take risks
    r. what constitutes being healthy or sick
    s. to be old
    t. to need help/to ask for help
    u. a good counselor or helper

RELIGION

40. What is your earliest memory of the church?

41. Do you consider yourself a religious person? In what sense?

42. What feelings do you have when you think about God?

43. When you think about the future, what makes you feel most uneasy or most at peace?

44. When you think about the past, what makes you feel most uneasy or most at peace?

45. If you pray, what do you feel is going on when you pray?

46. Why do some people suffer more than others?

47. Why do good?

48. If you were to go to a minister for help, what does that person need to do or be to be of maximum help to you? Example.

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